

1 - Mr. Simpson

November 30, 1959

REC- 94

104-77-1361

Dr. [REDACTED]  
120 West Girard Avenue  
Philadelphia 23, Pennsylvania

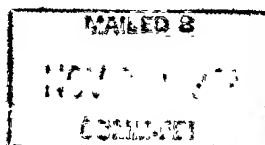
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Dear Dr. [REDACTED]

Your letter dated November 20, 1959, has been received, and the interest which prompted your communication is indeed appreciated.

In connection with your inquiry concerning the definition of certain terms, I have taken the liberty of preparing excerpts from my book, "Masters of Deceit," which refer to these terms. These excerpts are enclosed, and I trust they will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,



John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosures (4)

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Copies of correspondent's letter not being sent to Philadelphia Office since it would be of no apparent interest to that office.

Correspondent has requested the Bureau furnish him the definition of "the terms communist, socialist, fellow traveler, and liberal." These terms are subject to many varied interpretations. Since the purpose of the correspondent's inquiry and the manner in which he will attempt to use a reply over the Director's signature are not known, it is believed the Bureau's reply should relate only to public source material. The terms mentioned by the

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

62 NOTE ON YELLOW, CONTINUED, PAGE TWO

RD5:pw/ (3)

Dr.



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NOTE ON YELLOW, CONTINUED

correspondent are discussed in the quoted excerpts of the Director's book, and it is believed desirable to furnish these excerpts from "Masters of Deceit" and make no additional comments concerning the definition of these terms.

*Bufiles contain no identifying information concerning the correspondent.*

Excerpt from pages 341-343, "Masters of Deceit"

### COMMUNISM (MARXIST SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM):

A system of thought and action originated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, developed by V. I. Lenin, continued by Joseph Stalin and his successors. This system advocates, among other things: (1) a materialistic explanation of the origin of man and the universe; (2) a comprehensive economic interpretation of history centering about the class struggle; (3) abolition of the noncommunist state, which is conceived to be an instrument of exploitation; (4) a revolutionary theory, method, and a flexible course of action to overthrow the state and the capitalistic system; (5) a moral code based on utility; on nonsupernatural class concepts; (6) abolition of all religions; (7) a world-wide communist revolution; and (8) a world-wide communist society.

### COMMUNISM (primitive):

A type of communal living reported to have existed in early stages of man's history. To Marxists there was no private ownership, hence, no class divisions, class exploitation, or state mechanism.

### COMMUNISM (stages of development):

Marxism-Leninism says communism will develop through two basic stages: First or lower stage (called socialism), which is the type of society that will be formed immediately after the communist revolution. This is an "impure" communist society, freshly emerged from the violent conflict and bearing, in the words of Marx, "... in every respect, economic, moral and intellectual, the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it is issuing." In this phase, organs of the state (such as police, army, etc.) are necessary and are exercised by the dictatorship of the proletariat, crushing the opposition of the bourgeoisie. During this transitory stage the main principle will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." (This is the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, symbolized by the terrorism that now prevails in all communist countries.) However, after an unspecified period of time (just when, no communist can say), as people become indoctrinated to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, all the capitalistic characteristics will disappear and the state will slowly "wither away" as the threshold of the higher or final stage (communism) will be reached. This stage will be stateless, classless, godless, where all property will be held in common and human activities will conform to the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs." The lower phase implies controlled, planned, and ordered work; the higher, free association and voluntary work. (This false appeal to a communist Utopia is one of the Party's most potent weapons for deception.)

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Excerpt from page 349, "Masters of Deceit"

**SOCIALISM (MARXIST):**

1. The so-called "scientific" variety of socialism; that is, Marxism-Leninism or Marxist scientific socialism. (See also COMMUNISM (MARXIST SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM).)

2. In a limited meaning, "socialism" refers to the first or lower stage of communism, which is the transitory period between the seizure of power and the higher or final phase of communism. See COMMUNISM (stages of development) for further details.

**SOCIALISM (NON-MARXIST):**

The communists have nothing but contempt for any form of socialism except the Marxist-Leninist version. Non-Marxist socialists are regarded as "utopian," impractical, and allies of the bourgeoisie.



Excerpt from pages 88-89, "Masters of Deceit"

**Fellow Travelers.** The third area in which communist thought control works is that of the fellow traveler and sympathizer. These two terms are distinct but related. The fellow traveler, while not a member, actively supports (travels with) the Party's program for a period of time. The sympathizer is more passive, sympathizing with the Party or individual members on specific issues, and may or may not give active aid. These individuals are not Party members, but, in some degree, have come under Party control.

This control is sufficient to make them work willingly for the Party. Many consistently follow the Party line, even maintaining personal contacts with Communist Party officials. Others, the so-called "intellectuals," may never have attended a communist meeting and may know nothing about Party organization. Yet, because of the spell of communist thought control, they knowingly do the Party's work. Perhaps they have been influenced by Marxist writings or the professed aims of the Party on certain issues. In any case, deluded by communist propaganda, they desire to render active assistance.

Fellow travelers and sympathizers, unlike open or concealed communists, cannot be disciplined. A Party leader may request a favor. If the fellow traveler or sympathizer agrees, fine; if he doesn't, the Party cannot do much except hope to exert more influence next time.

Moreover, these people are often undependable, donating money, for example, to one Party function but not another. Sometimes they may be "hot," doing just about anything asked. Then suddenly they grow "cold," lose interest, and become inactive.

The value of fellow travelers and sympathizers lies in their alleged noncommunist affiliation. That is why, in most instances, communist leaders do not attempt to recruit them into the Party. They are more valuable outside: as financial contributors, vocal mouthpieces, or contacts between Party officials and non-communists. They constitute, in fact, fronts for, and defenders of, the Communist Party.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
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W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Excerpt from pages 97-98, "Masters of Deceit"

Communists are not liberals. The concept that communism is a new world of liberalism is false, a trap used to catch noncommunists. The word "liberal" has a fine, upright meaning and is symbolic of a great historic tradition. That is why the communists appropriate the term for their own use.

Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Liberalism means increased rights for the citizen; a curb on the powers of the central government; freedom of speech, religion, and the press. Communism means fewer and fewer rights for the private citizen, curtailment of freedom of speech and press and worship of God. The state becomes all-powerful, the absolute reverse of American tradition.

Make no mistake, communists do not like liberalism; that is, the genuine liberalism of Western civilization. They denounce liberals ("Liberal blockheads" Lenin called them) and attempt by every means to destroy them. The communists realize that true liberalism is a bitter enemy, a fighter for the things that communism opposes.

A derisive poem entitled "March of the Liberals" published in the July 16, 1935, issue of "New Masses" (a now-defunct communist publication) makes clear this communist attitude, depicting liberals as weak, vacillating, and incapable of any affirmative action:

a conclusion is something  
we never can find....  
... One step forward  
and two steps back:  
that's the method  
of our attack.

"You see here," "New Masses" comments, "the rhyme and reason of why a liberal looks so poisonous to a sincere and active radical. . . ." The "antidote" for such liberalism? "Weekly doses" of Marxism-Leninism, or, in the words of the editors, "If you know one of these 'open-minded' marchers, you can save him! Give him a copy of 'New Masses' quick...."

The liberals do not want revolution but genuine social reforms. That is why the communists detest them. But if they can be exploited, so much the better. Like everybody else, they are fuel for the communist engine of revolution.

MARKET 7-4780

EYES EXAMINED

DR. [REDACTED]  
Optometrist  
120 West Girard Avenue  
Philadelphia 23, Pa.

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b7C

Nov. 20, 1959

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have had a running battle with some friends of mine over definition of terms. Would you please define for me the terms communist, socialist, fellow traveler, and liberal? I hope I am not putting you to any trouble.

Thank you for your time and trouble.

/s/ [REDACTED]

Yours truly.

OD

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b7C

TRUE COPY

DR. 

OPTOMETRIST

120 WEST GIRARD AVENUE

PHILADELPHIA 23, PA.

b6

b7C

Nov 23, 1959

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Alfred S. Tappan

ACK.

11-30-59.

RDS/rw.

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DR.

120 WEST GIRARD AVENUE  
PHILADELPHIA 23, PA.

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— 200TH ANNIVERSARY —  
— GERMANTOWN AC —  
— 1759 —



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director of the FBI  
Washington DC

TRUE COPY

Redlands, Calif.  
11-19-59

Dear Mr Hoover: -

I have just read your book on "Masters Of Deceit" and want to thank you for exposing what is Americas greatest threat at this time and will endeavor to do what I can to combat this menace.

There is one thing that is bothering me and that is the part of your book which devotes to the communistic attack on judaism which is supposed to be related to the international scope of zionism.

Zionism, in some articles I have read and some quotations from zionists have been contrary to an americans way of life and to universal brotherhood, which in some respects is related to communism.

Is communism and zionism related or how much gulf is there between them?

I am enclosing some quotes and an article from the magazine "American Mercury" which has caused me to write this letter.

Do we have two threats or one?

Sincerely Yours

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

b6  
b7c

Box 175A - Rt 1

Redlands, Calif.

62-104277-1362

*Don't*

PA

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

Redlands, Calif.  
11/19/59

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Sincerely Yours

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ENCLOSURE

Box 175A

Redlands, Calif.

Box 175A - R.I.

Redlands, Calif.

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ENCLOSURE

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► The Zionists have joined with the Soviet Union in a parallel conspiracy to squeeze Nasser out and degenerate Arab unity.

► Pamphlets put out by the political factions of Zionism, headed by Ben-Gurion, carry both the hammer and sickle and the six-pointed star of David.

► The well organized and highly financed forces of the world-wide Zionism could have destroyed Communism at any time during the last 20 years. They are militant against the Nazis, but soft against Communists.

► Gromyko and other officials of the Soviet Russian delegation to the Geneva Meeting (May 1959) were housed in a villa of a leading Jewish banker.

► "The people of the world are insane to work for "debt-money." They foolishly permit the Zionist International Bankers to control the purchasing power of their money. Documentation in *Money Made Mysterious* is conclusive.

► Just after ex-President "Korea" Truman said: "The most un-American thing in America is the Un-American Activities Committee," he was given a special citation by B'nai B'rith for his "outspoken statements."

► Official Zionism, acting through Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg of Toronto, Canada, has issued a statement branding the New Testament account of the crucifixion of Christ as anti-Semitic, full of confusion and contradictions.

► At some of the weddings they should have three wedding rings. One each for bride and groom, and one for the bride's mother.

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test, blood sedimentation rate, urinalysis.

Average costs, for any such clinical examination (usually paid by

men are faced with a managerial problem that must be solved in one day. Thus rivalries are generated, pressure groups spring up, personal

data that has helped Soviet Russia enormously. Several devices, including the new plane reputed to fly without use of auxiliary fuel, were developed from Tesla's data.

ination and interesting reading matter. Get the truth on subjects you want to discuss. Use the blank provided here.

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Courage, especially the courage that is based on knowledge.

► Observers said that Frankfurter was Acheson's "brain" and that Frankfurter now does the same for Warren and others.

the companies are): company handled, \$10-30; private physician \$25-75; clinics, \$30-175; resorts \$175 up.

The psychic health of executives must also be safeguarded. Some industrial psychiatrists recommend

resentments have. The project "players" to discover personal psychological flaws in their real life behavior. It is a new technique, however; its actual worth has not been determined.

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# THE WORLD WIDE BETRAYAL

by Stephen Paulsen

## PART I

(A Chronology of the Zionist Master Plan for World Domination)

VIRTUALLY ALL of the items included in this chronology are direct quotations from Zionists or from their books. At the end of this article there will be listed the various books, their authors, the publishing firms and the dates of publication. (I.B. means "International Banker," A.M. means "American Mercury," p. means "page," MMM means "Money Made Mysterious.")

1896—Theodor Herzl published "The Jewish State." *It became the Zionists' bible.* The following exact quotes are from Herzl's book:  
1. "When we sink, we become a revolutionary proletariat, the subordinate officers of all revolutionary parties; at the same time, when we rise, there rises also our terrible power of the purse." (p. 10.)  
2. "... the longer Anti-Semitism lies in abeyance the more fiercely will it break out." (p. 4.)

3. "Universal brotherhood is not even a beautiful dream. Antagonism is essential to man's greatest efforts." (p. 42.)

1897—I. Lord Edmond Rothschild of London and Jacob H. Schiff of New York City, two of the Elders of Zion, got Theodor Herzl (of Austria) to arrange for the World Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland; 197 delegates met there and laid out a plan of World Conquest with plans for a World Government. Herzl, founder of Zionism, in opening the meeting, raised his right hand and repeated an ancient oath of the Talmudists: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, May my right hand forget *its cunning*." Herzl also said at this meeting: "We are one nation. We are neither American nor Russian Jews, but only Jews!" He also said: "With a few exceptions that do not figure at all, the entire press of the world is in our hands."

2. Dr. Mandelstam said on August 29 at the opening of the Zionist Congress of 1897: "The Jews

will use all their influence and power *to prevent the rise and prosperity of other nations* and are resolved to adhere to their historic hopes; i.e., to *the conquest of world power.*" (*Le Temps*, Paris, September 3, 1897.)

3. The *Zionist Organization of America* was organized in 1897 with Richard Gottheil of *Columbia University* as its first president, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise as the first secretary. Branches for women (*Hadassah*), and children (*Young Judea*) were soon organized. (*Zionist Network*, p. 32.)

1898—Dr. Mandelstam, professor of the University of Kiev, Russia, at Basel Zionist Congress in 1898 said: "*The Jews energetically reject the idea of fusion with the other nationalities and cling firmly to their historical hope, i.e., of world empire.*" (*The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, by H. S. Chamberlain, Vol. I, p. 335. Also p. 221 of *Democracy and World Dominion*.)

900—1. Theodor Herzl, the Zionist leader, went to see Abdul Hamid the Sultan of Turkey, to buy land for the Zionists in Palestine. When the Sultan said "no" he had a revolution on his hands. (Note later item in 1914.)

900—2. Between 1900 and the outbreak of WWI (1914), the United States was flooded by large waves of immigration from Eastern Europe.

1901—1. Because President William

McKinley in the United States refused to be a stooge for I.B., he was killed by Russian Zionist, Zolkozh. (Presidents Lincoln [on Good Friday] and Garfield had been previously murdered.)

2. Doctor Leopold Kahn summed up these sentiments when speaking about Zionism in a Jewish school at Pozsony (Bratislava) in 1901: "Jews will never be assimilated and will never adopt the customs or morals of strangers. The Jew will remain a Jew under all circumstances." (*World Conquerors*, p. 21.)

1902—1. Lenin joins Trotsky in Switzerland on Editorial Board of Zionist publication *ISKRA* (*The Spark*). (It was printed in Munich, Germany.)

2. Kuhn Loeb & Co. was one of the founders and chief financiers of the scandalous Panama Canal Co.

1903—1. Dr. Simon Flexner, one of three busy brothers, became director of laboratories of the Rockefeller Institute. (*AMERICAN MERCURY*, November 1958, p. 105.)

2. At the Sixth Zionist Congress in 1903 at Basel, Switzerland, Dr. Max Nordau, an Elder of Zion said (we quote from the *American Jewish News*, New York, Vol. 4, No. 2, September 19, 1919), "Theodor Herzl has considered it his duty to maintain valuable relations with this great and progressive power (England). Herzl knows that we stand (in 1903) be-

fore a tremendous upheaval of the whole world. Soon, perhaps, *some kind of world-congress will have to be called*, and England, the great, free and powerful England, will then continue the work it has begun with its generous offer to the Sixth (Zionist) Congress in 1903. And if you ask me now what has Israel to do in Uganda, then . . . let me tell you *the following words* as if I were showing you the rungs of a *ladder leading upward and upward*; Herzl, the Zionist (1897) Congress, the English Uganda proposition [1903], THE FUTURE WORLD WAR [1914-1918], *the peace conference* [1919-1920] *where with the help of England a free and Jewish Palestine will be created.*"

"Like a mighty thunder these last words came to us, and we all were trembling and awe-struck as if we had seen a vision of old."

The above speech was also printed in the *Fascist*, [London] February, 1937. The same speech has been mentioned in a number of books, including (on Page 221) *Democracy and World Dominion*, by the great educator, Edwin D. Schoonmaker (publisher, Richard R. Smith, New York City, 1939).

3. Speyer & Co., the Zionist banking house, gave Mexico a loan of 12½ million dollars and secured all oil concessions in Mexico. From then on intrigue dominated Mexico.

1904—1. Kuhn Loeb & Co. (a

Rothschild international banking firm) financed the war of Japan against Czarist Russia. (A planned revolution in Czarist Russia followed one year later.)

2. Chaim Weizmann commented as follows on Theodor Herzl's *Judenstaat*:

"Four years ago world Jewry was divided into two camps: one on the east and one on the west. And when Herzl arrived and said to us that *we must unite Eastern and Western Jewry*, we carried out this order accordingly. *Our unity to-day is Theodor Herzl's legacy to the Jewish people.*"

Theodor Herzl's *Judenstaat* states: "Wir sind ein Volk!"—"We are one people!" *And to-day this is the only unity existing in a world divided into two hemispheres.*

"We are one people despite the ostensible rifts, cracks and differences between the American and Soviet democracies. We are one people and it is not in OUR INTERESTS that the West should liberate the East, for in doing this and in liberating the enslaved nations, the West would inevitably deprive Jewry of the Eastern half of its world power." (Chaim Weizmann statement in *World Conquerors*, p. 227.)

3. International Workers of the World (IWW) starts promoting violence and trouble in U.S. Austrian-born Felix Frankfurter later was counsel for IWW anarchists.

1905—1. Sidney Hillman (Schmoul Gilsman) was educated as a Rabbi. (See *Who Was Who in America*, Vol. II, p. 254.)

2. Abortive Revolution in Russia failed. It was led by Sidney Hillman who later came to the U.S. to direct "world operations." Another leader in the same revolution was Leon Trotsky (Leiba Davidovitch Bronstein). During the revolution the Rothschilds helped finance, they had their termites in Russia destroy and sabotage the oil wells and refineries. It took many years to offset this tremendous sabotage. It handicapped Czarist Russia some years later when "Planned WWI" started.

3. Intercollegiate Socialist Society formed. Felix Frankfurter a founder.

4. A copy of *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was recorded in the British Museum, in London.

5. We quote from p. 76 of *The World at the Cross Roads*, by Boris Brasol:

"According to the information of the London *Jewish Chronicle*, the contribution of international Jewry to the Russian revolutionary cause in 1905 reached the sum of £874,341. (Nearly \$4,500,000 U.S.)

No wonder that Mr. George von Longerke Meyer, United States Ambassador to Russia during the Russo-Japanese War, stated in an official letter, dated December 30, 1905, to Mr. Elihu Root, then U.S.

Secretary of State, that:

"The Jews have undoubtedly to a large extent furnished the brains and energy in the revolution throughout Russia."

Nevertheless, in 1905, the revolution financed by Jacob H. Schiff failed.

1906—1. In 1906, a dissolution suit was brought by the Attorney General, for the U.S. Government, against Rockefeller's Oil Company. The case was closed in 1908. *The U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the Rockefeller interests in May 1911 and fined them \$29,000,000.* The State of Texas issued an injunction against the Rockefellers doing business in that state. William H. Allen's book, *Rockefeller: Giant, Dwarf, Symbol* gives some of the details of the Rockefellers' prior questionable operations. When the Rockefellers maneuvered out of the fine of \$29 million, Federal Judge Landis, who conducted the government trial, bitterly commented: "You can't convict a million dollars." (AMERICAN MERCURY, November 1958, p. 104.)

From the beginning the Rockefellers were financed by the Kuhn Loeb & Co. and other Zionist bankers. The Rothschilds *advised and guided* the Rockefellers. They had a deal to divide the world petroleum markets. (See *Rothschilds and Rockefellers: Dedicated Monopolists*, AMERICAN MERCURY, November 1958. p. 100.)

2. In the "Jewish Encyclopaedia," (1906) we read:

"It (Schiff's firm) subscribed for and floated the large Japanese war loan in 1904-1905." (*The Alien Menace*, p. 112.)

1907—

The Rothschilds financed Alliance Israelite Universelle, published in Russia and elsewhere in 1907: "*Capture the press! Through it everything will come to you in the natural course of events.*" Adolphe Cromieux. Founder, *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, quoted from A. Shama-koff, Address in defense of T. Dokshin and others, p. 36. Moscow: University Printing Office, 1907.)

1. Labor Zionist Organization of America—Poale Zion, was organized in the U.S. to shape labor activities.

2. "There was another great crisis when the Knickerbocker Trust failed because manipulators of the millionaire class wilfully created a run on the banks, from which they emerged incomparably more powerful, having bought up the stock of the ruined victims which they held to resell at par. *At the same time, the Steel Trust was able to complete its absolute monopoly.* Solomon Loeb, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., was a member of the

Knickerbocker Trust." (*Deadlier Than The H Bomb*, p. 45.)

1908—1. The Socialists financed by the International Banking group, said they would, in the future, "bury the whole Capitalistic system."

2. On advice of the Rothschilds the Belgian Government acquires the Belgian Congo. Edward Scugier is sent there—to Elizabethtown. War minerals and other reasons we mention later.

3. Abraham Flexner became education "expert" for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. (AMERICAN MERCURY, November 1958, p. 106.)

4. Federal Council of Churches of Christ organized at suggestion of Rothschild. Rockefeller and Carnegie interests active in it. Their Foundation later flow funds into it. 75 per cent of its finances have come from sources outside of its church membership. Congregations don't vote. "Selected" delegates meet only once each four years.

During a heated Congressional investigation into white slavery The American Jewish Congress was formed. (See p. 96, "International Jew," by Henry Ford, Sr.) (During years that followed, the *AJC* and *FC of C* were to work closely together on many projects.)



1909—1. WALTER RATHEAU, Zionist, Financial Dictator of Germany, selected by I.B. after WWI in *The Wiener Free Presse*, December 25, 1909: "Only 300 men, each of whom knows all the others, govern the fate of Europe. They elect their successors from their entourage. These Jews have the means in their hands of putting an end to the form of any State which they find unreasonable."

2. *The Unseen Empire of Finance*, a carefully documented research book by E. Alexander Powell, declared in *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 19, 1909: "The European peoples are no longer under the Government of the respective nations. They have passed under another scepter. *They have become the subjects of another Power—a Power unseen, but felt in palace as in cottage, in Russia as in Spain, by every parent and child, by every potentate and every laborer. No nation on the European continent has any longer an independence that is more than normal. The Political autonomy of every one of them has been surrendered to the will of a despotism before which every kingdom and empire and republic fawns in the most abject subserviency.*"

(Above also in *Zionist Network*, p. 6 by Senator Jack B. Tenney.)

1911—1. "Mr. Paul Warburg was brother-in-law to Mr. Jacob H.

Schiff. Warburg was born in Germany. His brothers conduct the powerful German banking-house of M. Warburg and Company, Hamburg, financing the German shipping industry and controlling the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines. Herr Max Warburg, head of this banking-house played an important part in German politics, particularly at the time the Kaiser fled to Holland. Dr. Carl Melchior, a partner in it, was one of the five German delegates-in-chief at the Peace Conference at Versailles (1919), and in later years (1930) was prominent in the founding of *the Bank for International Settlements*. This was the central bank of the central International Settlements, the central bank of the central banks established in Switzerland, which has been internationalized in peace and war alike, it pays no taxes, and it is above and beyond all law." (*All These Things*, by A. N. Field, p. 5.)

2. Correspondence of the Rothschilds to the German Kaiser reveals Rothschilds wanted WWI delayed. (They needed our Federal Reserve Act to finance World Wars.) (*International Jew* by Henry Ford, Sr., p. 204)

3. The International Group running the Carnegie Foundation trustees' meeting "discussed the advantages of *changing our government and institutions through war.*" (Later Alger Hiss was presi-



dent of this "international" outfit.)

4. "I felt constrained to point out (to Kaiser Wilhelm II on his last visit to England in 1911) that the Jews . . . had captured and controlled the larger part of the German press. He did not dissent." Herbert Henry Asquith, Prime Minister of England 1908-1916. (*The Genesis of the War*, New York, 1923, p. 89.)

5. The Zionist organization sent a German geologist, Professor Blankenhorn, to investigate the potentialities of the Dead Sea region in Palestine. (*The Alien Menace*, p. 168.)

1912—1. Bernard Baruch ushered into the President's office in the White House his very weak professor, Woodrow Wilson.

2. Richard J. H. Gottheil wrote that "The closer Jews are kept within the fold, the greater their interest in Jewish life and thought."

3. The best pamphleteers, the ablest journalists of Europe, kept on the payroll of the various financial groups, were *feverishly preparing public opinion for the future conflict between the European countries.*" (Boris L. Brasol)

4. ". . . Finally it should be borne

in mind that the press bureaus and the great Eastern dailies exert a disproportionate influence on the American press as a whole . . . The foreign news which came through these bureaus was primarily composed for the New York papers, so, *in the last analysis, the control of the New York press meant the control of the entire American press.*" (Horace C. Peterson)

5. ". . . The Northcliffe (Jewish-owned) press did more before and during the war to embitter and *deliberately poison the English mind against Germany* than any other agency." (Clinton Hartley Grattan)

1913—1. Colonel E. Mandell House wrote a book, *Philip DRU*, Administrator (*David-Rex-Universe*, See AMERICAN MERCURY, November 1954, p. 131.) (Researchers say that E. Mandell House was an agent of the Rothschilds.)

2. President Wilson (during brief moments when he was not dominated by Brandeis, Baruch, Frankfurter, etc.) wrote "we know that something intervenes between the people of the U.S. and the control of their own affairs at Washington." (*Far and Wide*, p. 327.)

The Hidden Hand put across *five related items* in 1913:

1. Graduated income tax law was passed. (16th Amendment.) A fundamental rule, laid down by *The Communist Manifesto*, for the destroying of society is "A heavy, progressive or graduated income tax."
2. The Federal Reserve Banking Act was passed, Dec. 23—two days before Christmas. It permitted aliens, through our privately-owned Federal Reserve Banks to finance the world wars which were "planned." Elihu Root blasted this dangerous act in the Senate Dec. 13, 1913. (See *Money Made Mysterious*—3rd Book.) 4,000 pages of fine print was later slipped into it! It was cooked up at Baruch's Jekyll Island in a secret conference.
3. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) was organized by B'nai B'rith. (*Its pressure and intimidation record*, and the sad

events that happened thereafter, speak for themselves.)

4. The Rockefeller Foundation was established. Thereafter this outfit and the ADL were to cooperate. (Remember the 2 blades of a pair of scissors.)
5. *U.S. Senators would no longer be selected by the Legislatures of each of the States.* Thereafter Senators would be elected by the masses. This gave the Internationalists and their Controlled Press control of the Senators by their control of all communication media. They already had it on the Congressmen.

From this date forward, we were to be lied to, brainwashed and betrayed. Nationalism was thrown out the window for un-American internationalism. The money properly belonging to the citizen was taken from him by the Marxist graduated income tax and squandered by the internationalists through "their controlled government." Planned and promoted wars followed.

1914—1. As Zionists pushed England into war, U.S. had at the critical Constantinople post (Turkey)

Henry Morgenthau, Sr., as Ambassador and Louis Einstein as its special minister.

2. Paul M. Warburg said, at a Congressional hearing: "I only decided to become a citizen *after* I was convinced the U.S. money system would be reformed." (*The Hidden Empire*, p. 63.)

3. Five men who were later to head various governments (Lenin of Russia, Ebert of Germany, Branting of Sweden, MacDonald of England, Stauning of Denmark) *met as members of the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International!*

4. Trotsky was introduced and recommended to them (Kuhn, Loeb & Co.) by the publisher of the . . . revolutionary newspaper, *Forward* of New York . . .

(Henry Coston, *Les financiers qui menent le monde*, Paris, 1955, p. 114.)

5. "One by one the Jews are capturing the principal newspapers of America) . . ."

From letter of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice (British Ambassador to U.S. to Sir Edward Grey (British Foreign Minister), November, 1914.

6. At the start of World War I, Edmond Rothschild told Dr. Chaim Weizmann that "It would spread to the Middle East, where things of great significance to Political Zionism would occur." (*Far and Wide*, p. 285.)

7. Colonel C. Repington recounts a conversation he had (April 5, 1921) with Count Mensdorff, Austrian Ambassador in London in

1914, as follows: "Mensdorff thought that Israel had won the War; they had made it, thrived on it, profited by it. It was their supreme revenge on Christianity." (*After The War*, p. 155, Constable, 1922.)

8. Lloyd George, who was counsel for the Zionists in England, was made premier of the English Government and chosen to "perform" during World War I. His secretary was Sir Philip Sassoon Rothschild. (AMERICAN MERCURY—KNOW—December 1958.)

9. "The part which Jews all over the world play in white slavery is one of the foulest blots on our people." (*Jewish World*, March 18, 1914.)

10. "Mr. Paul Moritz Warburg practically controls the financial policy of the Administration." (Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador to the U.S. From *All These Things*, by A. N. Field, p. 5.)

11. "Assimilation is national suicide." (Louis D. Brandeis before Menorah Society, Columbia University.)

1915—1. In 1915, while the U.S. was at peace, Bernard Baruch took part of his annual income of \$2,000,000 to finance the training of soldiers to fight in a war which Baruch said he knew was "certain." (AMERICAN MERCURY—October 1956, p. 83.)

1916—1. After months of terrific bat-

tle in Congress, Louis D. Brandeis was confirmed as Supreme Court Justice. He is the uncle of Felix Frankfurter, who years later dominated the Supreme Court. Christopher Sykes, son of Sir Mark Sykes, (who was the Secretary of the British War Cabinet) wrote a book *Two Studies in Virtue* and, referring to the Balfour Declaration and the part played by his father in advancing Zionism, Sykes said,—on page 183 of his book:

"He (Mr. James Malcolm—(Malkom, a Zionist) then told Sir Mark Sykes of a very curious and powerful influence which Zionists could exert. One of President Wilson's closest advisers and friends was Justice Louis D. Brandeis, a Jew with the passionate Zionist faith of a recent convert.

"That Wilson was attached to Brandeis by ties of peculiar hardness, because, so the story ran, in his earlier days the future President had been *saved by this man (Brandeis) from appearing in a damaging law-suit*. It was said *that Brandeis was regarded by Wilson as the man to whom he owed his career.*"

(Researchers said President Wilson was involved in "moral problems" at Princeton University, that Samuel Untermyer had some damaging letters returned to Wilson after Brandeis was put on the Supreme Court). Re: Mrs. Peck, we quote from others: —

"Woodrow Wilson's friendship with Mrs. Hulbert Peck (of Princeton, New Jersey) . . . lasted for seven years . . . It was wrecked in the end by gossip. The so-called Peck scandal furnished the zest for the whispering campaigns of two Presidential elections . . . Wilson had written hundreds of letters to the charming divorcee." (George S. Viereck. 80.283)

"It seems that the Peck letters were finally acquired by the Wilson estate." (George S. Viereck)

"Mrs. Peck never demanded and Woodrow Wilson never paid hush money or blackmail." (Edward Mandell House) Probably correct—putting Brandeis on the Supreme Court researchers say was the price the American *public paid!*

2. "A note drawn up by the American official [intelligence] services and transmitted by the High Commissioner of the French Republic in the United States, contained the following passage: 'In February, 1916, it was learned for the first time *that a revolution was being fomented in Russia*. It was discovered that the undermentioned persons and concerns were engaged in this enterprise of destruction:

(1) Jacob Schiff; (2) Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Directors: Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, Otto Kahn, Mortimer Schiff, Jerome Hanauer; (3) Guggenheim; (4) Max Brei-

tung." (From the *American Consulate*, Elbridge D. Rand, American Consul, Geneva, Switzerland, dated January 21, 1929.) (NATIONAL ARCHIVES Dept. of State, Decimal File, 1910-1929, No. 861.4016/325.)

3. Of the 63 delegates of the Committee of Russian Revolutions that met in New York City, 50 were veterans of the 1905 revolution.

4. Zionists secretly cook up Palestine "deal." Documents available.

5. The notorious "Sunrise Conference" in Washington. The record of this sinister planning was suppressed. (In 1938 the enemy got our Senate Military Affairs Committee to hold a similar conference. Senator Bridges said in the "*New York Herald Tribune*," March 2, 1939, "If the American people ever learned what was said there—the nation would be shocked and stunned." *Democracy & World Dominion*, p. 312.)

6. President Woodrow Wilson was re-elected on the slogan "He kept us out of war." (At the same time, he and his foreign advisers were secretly taking steps to involve us in this unnecessary war.)

In 1917

1. The Bolshevik Revolution was not, as it is called, a revolution, but actually *an invasion*. *Democracy & World Dominion*, p. 210.)

2. Rabbi Wise says (*New York Times* 3/24/17): "I believe that of all the achievements of my people,

none has been nobler than the part the sons and daughters of Israel have taken in the great movement which has culminated in free Russia" [revolution]. (From speech of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise March 23, 1917, to the mass meeting celebrating the revolution in Russia.)

3. (April) Jacob H. Schiff of K. L. & Co. made a public declaration that it was thanks to his financial help that the Russian Revolution had succeeded.

4. "I have just had a long talk with Simonds of the *New York Tribune*. He is prepared to help us (Zionists) to speak with vigor, editorially, on our behalf, but I think a word of yours to him will be important." (Letter of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to Justice Louis D. Brandeis—May 10.)

5. We quote from the *Jewish Communal Register* of New York City: "The firm of Kuhn Loeb & Company floated the largest Japanese war loan of 1904-05 thus making possible the Japanese victory over Russia." . . . "Jacob Schiff financed the enemies of autocratic Russia and used his financial influence to keep Russia from the money markets of the United States."

6. ". . . The uprising of July 4, 1917, was intended to overthrow the Provisional Government according to the plans of Lenin and Trotsky. The revolutionaries were disconcerted by the intervention of a solitary regiment which had

been withdrawn from the front and scattered themselves. Lenin escaped but Trotsky was arrested. Their cause appeared lost. But the Bolsheviks had given proof of their courage, and a *telegram arrived to bring them* news of the financial support of Jacob Schiff, who was determined to push *the Russian Revolution to the end. The importance of these funds placed at the disposal of Lenin and Trotsky in order to foment the Bolshevik insurrection of October, 1917, has not been fully realized.* This action overthrew the Kerensky government and set up the Soviet regime. How these funds got to them is known. The United States Government published in October, 1918, a series of official documents entitled *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy.*" (Henry Coston, *Les Financiers qui menent le monde*, Paris, p. 114.)

7. Max Warburg of Hamburg (Sept. 21) opened by cable an account at (Rothschilds) Nya Banken in Stockholm, Sweden for Trotsky (Bronstein).

8. October 17. Zionists dominated England and France, betrayed the Arab-Moslem people and bargained away their Palestine territories. Lawrence of Arabia, an Englishman who was loved, trusted, and respected by the Arabs, returned to the British Government the decorations they gave him. (Shouldn't Eisenhower, as Commander-in-Charge of the U. S.

Armed Forces, also return the valuable military decorations he received from Soviet Russia?)

9. "... Wladimir Olaf Aschberg ... acted as the intermediary (in Stockholm, Sweden) between Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in New York City and the firm of Max Warburg (in Hamburg) when they were financing the (Bolshevik) revolution of October, 1917. *Aschberg* was the head of the Nya Banken in Stockholm and later, in 1921, founded the Russian Commercial Bank. Thanks to this institution he became in a sense the dictator of Soviet finances." (Henry Coston, *Les financiers qui menent le monde*, Paris, p. 115.)

"In the match between these two heavyweights (the United States and the Soviet Union) the International Finance of the United States will have trained the adversary." (Comte de Saint-Aulaire, *Geneva Versus Peace*, London, 1937, p. 75) (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: J X 1975, S. 32) (He was the French Ambassador to the Court of St. James, London, from 1920 until 1924.)

10. From the great book—*World Revolution—The Plot Against Civilization* by the famous English historian, Nesta H. Webster, p. 93, we quote: "In a word, *the peasant inherited from the aristocrat; he was disinherited by the usurer.* Here is the true history of the disinherited, not in France alone, but in Russia, in

Austria, in Poland; everywhere that the worker lives by tilling his own soil the abolition of feudalism has lead to the domination of the money-lender, and the *money-lender is in most cases a Jew.*"

11. We quote from Page 187 of *Two Studies in Virtue* by Christopher Sykes, as follows:

"Sokolow made a simple request, namely that the Zionist Committee should have facilities for communications abroad. *He pointed out they were an international body.*—that they should be granted Governmental privileges . . ."

*"It was agreed that the War Office and the Foreign Office would send Zionist letters and telegrams by way of Embassies, Consulates or Headquarters."*

12. Jacob H. Schiff, the leader of Zionists, finances the complete re-writing of the Bible provided it done under Jewish auspices—(See his book, p. 63, VII, also AMERICAN MERCURY, July, 1958, p. 120.)

13. *On Good Friday*, April 6, 1917, the Conspirators got the United States to foolishly declare World War I on Germany and to become an ally of the Revolutionists who had invaded and now dominate Russia. (It was also on Good Friday, April 14, 1865 that Abraham Lincoln was murdered.)

14. "Official information emanating from Russia itself informed the world that Communism, while barbarously opposed to every form

of Christianity, made it a crime for any comrade to utter a single word of reproach against the Jews.

"The 1917 list of those who, with Lenin, ruled many of the activities of the Soviet Republic, disclosed that of the 25 quasi-cabinet members, 24 of them were atheistic."

"Between the years 1917 and 1938, more than 20 million Christians were murdered by the Communistic government in Russia."

"Between these same years, 40 billion dollars of Christian property was appropriated by the Lenins and Trotskys, the Zinovieffs and the Kameneffs, the Litvinoffs, and the Lapsinskys—by the atheistic Jews and Gentiles—both of Russia.

"Those were the desperate days when Christians were not expelled from their native land but were the targets for the machine gun which beat out its tattoo against human hearts; incredible days when the altars of Christ were desecrated and the servants of Christ were massacred on ever-multiplying Calvaries." (From nationwide broadcast of Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, Sunday, Nov. 29, 1938.)

15. Since 1917, Red Russia has been the land base for the conspirators. Later, evil men in the U.S. financed and industrialized it. (AMERICAN MERCURY, January 1959, *Mercury's Opinion*, p. 110.)



1918—1. "... I think that a Jewish Palestine must become a war aim for America . . ." Letter of Dr. Chaim Weizmann to Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Supreme Court, dated January 14.

2. Sixty-Fifth Congress, House Document 1868, Exhibit 243, "Paper Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States" contains a whole series of documents showing that the International Bankers financed Lenin and Trotsky (Bronstein). Transfer of funds started in June 1917. Document 9 shows that the international banking house of M. Warburg opened an account for Comrade Trotsky to purchase arms, etc. Also Document 12 shows transfer of funds for "agitation against England and France."

3. Soviet Russia law passed. "From 3/1/18 on, the right to possess women having reached the age of 17 and not more than 32, is abolished. Women proclaimed to be the property of the whole nation. The former owners may retain the right of using their wives without waiting for their turn." (*The Hidden Empire*, p. 47.)

4. The United States Secret Service (2nd Army Bureau) named the persons who financed the Bolsheviks in 1916. The State Department, under Jewish pressure, destroyed this report. As the report remarks: "All Jews".

5. "We are living in a highly or-

ganized state of *socialism*. The state is all; the individual is of importance only as he contributes to the welfare of the state. His property is only (his) as the state does not need it. He must hold his life and his possessions at the call of the state". (Bernard M. Baruch in *The Knickerbocker Press*, Albany, New York, August 8, 1918.)

(This ties in with [Rothschilds] Alliance Israelite Universelle which sent out bulletins "Nationalities must disappear, religion must be suppressed. But Israel [i.e., Zionism] must not disappear.")

6. The First World War brought to Edward Rothschild, and his associates, more than one hundred billion dollars of profit.

(*The Secret World Government*, by Major General Count Cherep-Spiridovich, p. 29.)

7. Bolshevik revolutionaries in Russia murdered adults and children of the royal family, and many others, thus launching their regime, in blood.

8. Bernard Baruch, testifying at a Congressional inquiry, said: "I had more power than any other man in the war."

9. U. S. Government paid Col. E. Mandell House \$60,000 for expenses in N.Y.C. (for 6 months, July 1 to December 31, 1918.)

10. Bernard Flexner joins Roger Baldwin and is counsel of Zionist delegation to 1919 Peace Conference. (Records of both of these



men speak for themselves.)

11. *How these subsidized Alien revolutionaries, having invaded Russia, proceeded to murder and rob on a wholesale scale has been recorded by many persons who had the misfortune to be in Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution.* (*The Alien Menace*, pages 113-114.)

12. Those who wish to go further in the history of this *plot against civilization* should consult the books quoted; also *Russia's Ruin*, by Wilcox (Chapman & Hall, 1919). (*The Alien Menace*, page 114.)

13. See MERCURY article, pages 115-116, February, 1958, entitled *Felix Frankfurter and Louis D. Brandeis*. On 3/2/18 they, Frankfurter from Paris and Brandeis in the U.S., were raising a million dollars —(for Weizmann to use in London).

14. Very few Christians ever read *The World Significance of A Jewish State*, by Braintruster A. A. Berle. Berle and Herzl had much in common.

1919—1. Of the making of the peace of 1919, Dr. E. J. Dillon of the London *Daily Telegraph* wrote in his book *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, (Harpers, 1920) that the delegates to the Conference from Eastern Europe set down the formula: "Henceforth the world will be governed by the Anglo-Saxon people, who in turn are swayed by

their Jewish elements' . . . and who regard it as fatal to the peace of Eastern Europe." (Page 497.)

2. Between 1919 and 1924, three million *recorded* immigrants came to the U.S., mostly from Eastern Europe.

3. Professor J. R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, *testified* before the United States House of Representatives Banking and Currency Committee in 1927 that a member of the *Federal Reserve Board* had told him that the great inflation of 1919 was deliberately created by the Federal Reserve Board. (*All These Things*, by A. N. Field, p. 6.)

4. *Council of Foreign Relations* was launched by Rothschild and Rockefeller at the sinister Versailles Peace meeting. The following two groups were set up to do the job:

I. Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

II. Council on Foreign Relations, New York City (U.S.)

Annual grants by Rockefeller Foundation provided a direct, continuous method of control of both organizations. Carnegie Foundation and later Rockefeller Foundation were to constitute a gigantic lobby and pressure group serving to brainwash, influence and warp (or "mold") the various nations' policies. Top officials were influenced to come to the Council of Foreign Relations for "advice" and "guidance". (See facts in Re-

print *Weinberg Replaces Baruch*.)

5. If you read *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference* (Harpers) by Dr. E. J. Dillon, you will see the characters who put across the vicious Versailles Peace Treaty. It made a subsequent World War inevitable.

6. In the new constitution recently adopted in the USSR we have another interesting provision which bears upon this passing of Russia. The Christian religion has for centuries been the religion of the Slav, as it has been the religion of the other races of Europe. We have seen the record of hatred of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government in relation to that religion.

7. In Article 124 of the new Soviet constitution we find the following:

"Freedom to perform religious rites and *freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.*" Significant as this is, it becomes even more significant when taken in connection with a provision in the preceding article, 123:

"Any direct or indirect restriction of these rights . . . as well as any propagation of racial or national exceptionalism or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

8. The following extracts are quotes from the testimony of those who appeared before the U.S. Senate Overman Committee. (Also

printed in *Democracy and World Dominion*, per pages listed.)

"The leaders of the movement, I should say, are about *two-thirds Russian Jews.*" (William C. Huntington, Commercial Attache of the United States Embassy at Petrograd from June, 1916, to September, 1918. Page 69.)

"In Russia it is well known that three-fourths of the Bolshevik leaders are Jewish." (Mr. Welsh, for two years a junior officer of the National City Bank in Russia. Page 269.)

"When the Bolsheviks came into power, all over Petrograd we at once had a predominance of Yiddish proclamations, big posters, and everything in Yiddish." (Dr. Simons, Pastor of the Methodist Church in Petrograd. Page 142.)

In the *Yale Review* in an article entitled *The World Menace*, Mr. Henry C. Emery, LL.D., former chairman of the United States Tariff Board supported this testimony. "*No one who ever made a visit to Smolny Institute, when that was the headquarters of the Bolshevik government in Petrograd, could fail to understand how easy it is to get the impression that the Jews have at last seized power.*"

9. Potent international financial interests were at work (at the Peace Conference) in favour of the immediate recognition of the Bolsheviks. Those influences had been largely responsible for the

Anglo-American proposal in January (1919) to call Bolshevik representatives to Paris at the beginning of the Peace Conference . . . The well-known American-Jewish banker, Mr. Jacob Schiff, was known to be anxious to secure recognition for the Bolsheviks . . . and Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Commissary for Foreign Affairs, had revealed the meaning of the January proposal by offering extensive commercial and economic concessions in return for recognition." (Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, New York, 1924, Vol. 2, p. 301.) (Mr. Steed was the Editor of *The Times*, London.) (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: D 397 .S 75.)

10. Victor Marsden, the (London) *Morning Post* reporter who spent many months in Russia, stated that "among the 545 leading Bolshevik officials there were 377 Jews at the birth of Bolshevism."

11. The German people were robbed and weakened by inflation. As a result of the international bankers conspiracy, it took a billion-mark stamp (5 billion pre-war dollars) to send one letter in Germany.

12. British War Cabinet issues official "White Paper" listing Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and other Zionist bankers who financed Red Russian Revolution.

13. In March, Third International was organized by Zionists. (See H. Fish Report.)

14. March 1, Capt. Schuyler reported. Here are exact quotes from document in our possession:

"You will think I am hot about this matter (Bolshevism) but it is I feel sure one which is going to bring great trouble on the United States when the judgment of history shall be recorded on the part we have played. It is very largely our fault that Bolshevism has spread as it has . . ." (From confidential report of Capt. Montgomery Schuyler, Chief United States Army Intelligence Officer, Omsk, Siberia, to Lt. Col. David Prescott Barrows, Intelligence Officer, American Expeditionary Forces, Vladivostok, Siberia, March 1, 1919, Page 2.) (NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Military Intelligence Files.)

15. "... The prime movers (for the recognition of the Bolsheviks at the Peace Conference in 1919) were Jacob Schiff, Warburg, and other international financiers, who wished above all to bolster up the Jewish Bolsheviks." (Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, New York, 1924, Vol. 2, p. 302.) (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: D 397 .S 75.)

16. "... Trotsky was furnished large sums of money in America and . . . sent to Russia" (Erich Ludendorff, *Kriegshetze und Vorkermorden in den letzten 150 Jahren*, Munchen, 1936, Page 149). (General Ludendorff was Commander-in-Chief of the German

Army in WWI.) (LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: D 359 L 86, 1939.)

17. The collapse of these three Powers (*Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia*) in their old form represents a considerable gain for the carrying on of a Jewish national policy, and the fact that the same war, which brought about the world-wide recognition of Zionism, *also brought about the fall of the three anti-Jewish Powers*, is a unique coincidence which may well give cause for thought." (*Der Jude*, Vol. 3, p. 449, Dr. Martin Buber, Publisher, Berlin, 1918-1919)

18. The Communist Party was set up in the U.S. on September 1, 1919.

William Z. Foster (wife, Esther Abramovich) became its first general secretary. *The Daily Worker*, the Communist New York daily, began its first publication about the same time.

19. The Versailles Peace Conference imposed on Germany the harsh conditions that sent the nation reeling toward Communism, depression, and finally, despotism.

20. Bernard Baruch was invited to become the Soviet Union's peacetime adviser on industry and resources.

21. Dr. Weizman said "we do not aspire to found a Zionist State. We cannot hope to rule in a country in which only  $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the population *at present* are Jews." (*Far & Wide*, p. 318.)

22.

In the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Sixty-Sixth Congress, Document 106, p. 536, we quote:

Senator McCumber questions President Woodrow Wilson: "Do you think if Germany had committed no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens that we would have gotten into this war?"

President Wilson: "*I do think so.*"

Senator McCumber: "You think we would have gotten in anyway?"

President Wilson: "*I do.*"  
(We also have this document.) PLEASE RE-READ THIS ITEM.

23. Poisonous propaganda started to flow into the minds of United States citizens.

24. "Jewish hopes for the future depend on two lynch-pins. One is the League of Nations idea, and the other is the British Government, and we need scarcely say that we refer to Jewish hopes in the widest application of the term." (*The Jewish World*, London, January 15, 1919 [No. 2392], p. 5.)

"There must be a proper lookout for the civic and political rights and the status of Jews in

various countries *unless there be established a Power above all nations . . .*" (As above, p. 5.)

25. "Peace" Conference in Paris in 1919 made the resumption of war inevitable, owing to its impossible financial clauses.

At this conference the chief financial adviser to the German delegation was Dr. Carl Melchior, partner of Max Warburg, whose brothers Paul and Felix were partners of Jacob Schiff, in Kuhn, Loeb & Co. The chief economic adviser to the American delegation was Bernard M. Baruch, the dictator of the all-powerful War Industries Board in America during the war and an associate in business of Jacob H. Schiff. The British economic delegation was headed by Lord Cunliffe, former Governor of the Bank of England and a partner in the international Jewish banking house of

*tional lack of any laws prohibiting or regulating immigration into the United States and our negligence or politics in enforcing immigration laws when they had been passed* (Chapter II, *Iron Curtain Over America*.) "The illegal entry of aliens into the United States is one of the most serious and difficult problems confronting the Immigration and Naturalization Service . . . Since the end of World War II, the problem of illegal entry has increased tremendously . . . There is ample evidence that there is an alarmingly large number of aliens in the United States in an illegal status. Under the alien registration act of 1940 some 5,000,000 aliens were registered" (*The Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States*, pp. 629, 630).

*The third principal reason for the Communist exploitation of the*

*1880 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The Soviet seizure of Russia took place in 1917, however, and the hey-day for Communist-inclined immigrants from Eastern Europe was the five-year period between the end of World War I (1919) and the passage of the 1924 law restricting immigration. Recorded immigrants to this country in that brief span of time amounted to approximately 3 million and large numbers of newcomers were from Eastern Europe." (The Iron Curtain Over America, by John Beaty, p. 45.)*

27.

Lenin said: "The First World War gave us Russia, while the Second World War WILL hand Europe to us." (Note the certainty of World War II. It came, "as planned"

The above statements by Zionists are startling. More facts about the "transnationalists" will appear in subsequent issues of MERCURY. Part I is ready in reprint form.

The way you can help stop this Conspiracy against Mankind, is to force our Congress to stop giving money or material to the Russian group and Israel.

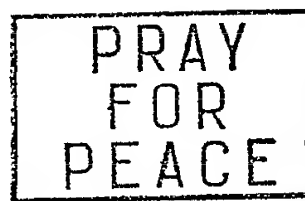
We must immediately stop sale of Israel bonds and remove the tax-exempt status on gifts to Israel.

The international character of the network of Zionist organizations is obvious.

The urging of dual loyalty by Dr. Nahum Goldman, who is president of the World Zionist Movement and also president of the World Jewish Congress, makes real Americans very concerned. (See AMERICAN MERCURY, June, 1959, *This Is What They Said*, p. 146.)

b6  
b7C

Box 175 ARTI - Buckeye  
Redlands, Calif.



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington D. C.

Director  
11-23-59  
Spec. Ed. King  
Dorothy; A. T.

- /o Mr J. Edgar Hoover -

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Emu-Baw

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December 2, 1959

Mrs. Maurice Machris  
771 San Lorenzo Road  
Santa Monica, California

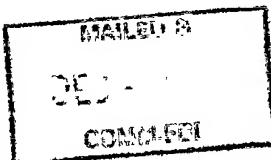
Dear Mrs. Machris:

At the request of Miss [redacted] of

b6  
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New York City, I am forwarding to you, under separate cover, a copy of my book, "Masters of Deceit," which I have autographed to you. It is a pleasure for me to be of service in this way.

Sincerely yours,



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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: No derogatory information identifiable with Mr. or Mrs. Maurice Machris was located in Bufiles. One Mr. Maurice Machris was identified as a Vice President of the Wilshire Oil Company, Los Angeles, California. See letter of same date to [redacted]

b6  
b7C

BDA:bew

9 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

December 3, 1959

EX-124

REC-46 62-104277-1365

Mr. [redacted]  
4498 Baccich Street b6  
New Orleans, Louisiana b7C

Dear Mr. [redacted]

Your letter of November 23, 1959, has been received in the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington, and I am taking the liberty of acknowledging it for him. I will be glad to bring your communication to his attention, and you may be sure that he will appreciate your interest in his book, Masters of Deceit.

I am enclosing some material on the subject of communism which you might like to have.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

Enclosures (5) What You Can Do To Fight Communism  
God and Country or Communism?  
Struggle On A New Plane  
Communist "New Look"  
How To Beat Communism

NOTE: No record on [redacted] was located in Bufiles.

BDA:bew (4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D-REAR...  
FBI  
1 02 PM '59

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

New Orleans  
November 23-59

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just finish reading your book "Masters of Deceit" and there are some big questions in my mind that the reading of your book have created.

I know you are a very busy man; but I wish you would be so kind as to take a couple of minutes and answer the following:

- 1-)Is the Daily Worker being published today. And why does the United States government permit this publication to go on being printed.
- 2-Do you think that the disturbances in Little Rock Arkansas had a Communistic basis or that they were aroused by Communist underground?
- 3-This is a very important one -: What actually does happen to a member who is expelled from the Party can they be murdered in America? Is it dangerous not to be as you call it in "good standings" with the Party? And one last question. You mention in your book many a comunist attitude; and I couldn't help comparing them with Fidel Castro's way of acting thinking and ruling and to me there is a very interesting similarity What do you think about this?

I will be very gratefull if you could clear this doubts and questions

Thank you for your time

respectfully yours

S/ 

b6  
b7C

copy:bak

~~EXP. PROC.~~  
NOV 27 1959

5/10/59

mc  
12-7-59  
3  
BEB

New Orleans  
November 23-59

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just finished  
reading your book "Masters  
of Deceit" and there  
are some big questions  
in my mind that  
the reading of your  
book have created.

I know you are a  
very busy man, but  
I wish you would be  
so kind as to take  
a couple of ~~minutes~~  
and answer the ~~following~~  
following:

59) Is the Daily Worker  
being published today

und  
ack  
12-2-59  
BPA

REC-46 62-104277-1365  
EX-124  
25 DEC 4 1959

And why does the United States government permit this publication to go on being printed

2- Do you think that the disturbances in Little Rock Arkansas had a Communist basis or that they were aroused by Communist underground?

3- This is a very important one. - What actually does happen to a member who is expelled from the Party (as they are considered in America)? Is it dangerous not to be as you call it in "good standing" with the Party?

And one last ques-  
tion. You mention in  
your book many a so-  
cialist attitude; and I  
couldn't help compar-  
ing them with Fidel

Castro's way of acting  
thinking and ruling and  
to me there is a very  
interesting similarity. What  
do you think about  
this?

I will be very grateful  
if you could clear  
these doubts and ques-  
tions

Thank you for  
your time  
respectfully yours

b6

b7C



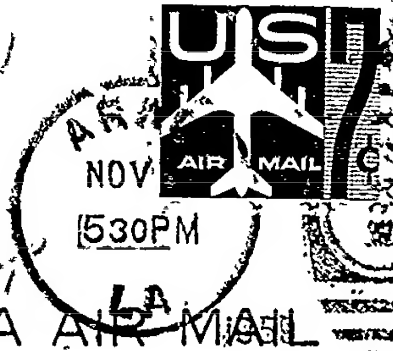
AFTER 5 DAYS. RETURN TO



b6  
b7C

4498 Baccich St  
New Orleans, La

*selected*  
*11-27-59*  
*Spec. Del.*  
*Postmark*



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director of the Federal Bu-  
reau of Investigation  
F. B. I. Building  
Washington, D. C.

RA

REC-74 62-104277-1366

December 2, 1959

Mr. [REDACTED]  
5405 Miles Avenue  
Oakland 18, California

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Your letter dated November 25, 1959, has been received, and I appreciate the interest which prompted you to write.

Your comments concerning "Masters of Deceit" are indeed appreciated, and I will keep them in mind in the event I write another book on the subject. It would be a pleasure to receive your resume on communism should you desire to forward it to me.

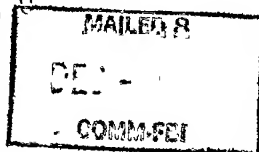
Sincerely yours,

b6  
b7C

NOTE: Bufiles negative for [REDACTED] has indicated a desire to forward a resume on communism to the Director.

NHC:djd/tmf  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



DEC 10 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

194-104277-1366  
DEC 2 10 00 PM '59  
FBI  
100-104277-1366  
100-104277-1366



Oakland California  
November 25, 1959.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just finished reading "Masters of Deceit". It is an excellent work and you are to be commended for it. It goes a long way in helping the citizens of this country in learning about the menace of Communism.

One point especially has impressed me in my studies of Communism and also in the reading of your book. This point is the ideological attraction which Communism has had and is having for a great many people. Communism has gained thousands of ~~recruits~~ recruits throughout the world for ideological reasons. As you have stated in your book, there are other reasons for persons turning to Communism, but this reason is the motivating factor in so many cases. Even persons with brilliant minds have been persuaded.

It seems to me that if the arguments of Communism could be countered, that a great deal could be done to prevent the recruitment of many potential recruits, and also to deprive Communism of the support of many who have joined already. If a statement of Communist ideology could be given in its whole and then analyzed, I believe that such information would have the effect of depriving Communism of many possible recruits, and the support it now is getting from "Pinks" and "Fellow Travelers". I believe that Communism is able to gain much of its present support because it only presents part of the picture and not the whole picture.

In your book you have provided some of the above mentioned discussion of Communist ideology. Your discussion however is scattered throughout the book and is not combined in one discussion. Such scattering makes it difficult to follow the train of thought. In addition, you have a tendency to give conclusions without giving the reasons for such conclusions. Also you have not mentioned what to my mind is a vital weakness in the Communist set up: lack of provision for measures for control of leaders.

I believe I have something which will interest you and possibly might be of help. About a year ago, I completed a study of Communist ideology. It gives a statement of the entire Communist ideology, and also analyses it. In a comparatively few pages is given a resumé of material which is scattered throughout many Communist publications. It took me about three years to write it. I believe that it will prove to be of great interest to you.

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. McGuire ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Mr. Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

3  
EX-100  
2

REC-74

62-104277-136

11 DEC 4 1959

135

S/NAC/BSW

1  
If you are interested in reading my work, I would be glad to  
to send it to you. Just let me know. It is 154 pages in length.

Hoping that you are interested, I remain,

Very truly yours



b6  
b7C

5405 Miles Ave.  
Oakland 18  
California

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: December 3, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: 51 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK, NEW YORKb6  
b7C

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

By letter of 11-28-59, above-captioned individual wrote the Director indicating that he had read "Masters of Deceit." He indicates that Mr. Hoover in his book did not explain what makes a person a communist, also that he has made communism "the most inhuman, dry as dust philosophy I've ever read about." He suggests that Mr. Hoover recommend any other book that might make him understand communism better.

RECOMMENDATION:

In view of Mr.  rather erratic statements, it is felt that his letter should not be acknowledged.

b6  
b7C

JVA:jac

(4)

REC-1

62-104277-1367

Z DEC 8 1959

46  
62 DEC 11 1959

EX-103

# WILLIAM SLOANE HOUSE YMCA

356 WEST 34th STREET  
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.  
OXford 5-5133

Guest Correspondence



Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Nov. 28, 1959

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I have read part of your book Masters of Deceit. Then I gave up in disgust. Why? Because frankly Communism was boring me to death. It is the most inhuman, dry as dust philosophy I've ever read about. How people can become Communists baffles me. With all due respect for your book which I think well done-I don't think that it really explains what makes a person a Communist. I could more or less understand Fascism-it had great appeal to the nationalism of Germany, Italy and Japan. But Communism is so damn dull-so completely devoid of any human quality. In this respect, Mr. Hoover, I think you have failed in your book. Why people become Communists still is a great mystery to me. If you could suggest any other book which might help me to understand it better I would certainly like to hear of it.

EX-135 REC-1 62-104277-1368-1 JMD  
51 E. DEC 28 1959 ST. New York N.Y.

1492 Single and Double Rooms - in the center of Manhattan - easily accessible from railroad stations, airline and bus terminals, steamship piers and main motor arteries.

World famous for its program - close to all points of interest.

A Branch of the YMCA of Greater New York

NOV 30 1959

REC-48

EX 109

100-4297-1369

December 9, 1959

Mr. [REDACTED]  
Box 495  
Towanda, Kansas

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

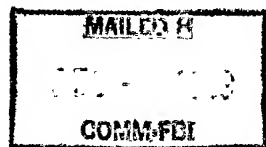
Your letter of November 29, 1959, has been received. I am pleased to know of your interest in my book, "Masters of Deceit," and I want to thank you for your kind expression of confidence in my administration of the activities of the FBI. Your prayers are also deeply appreciated.

In response to your request, I am enclosing a copy of my article entitled "The Role of the Sunday School."

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure



DEC 11 11 58 AM '59  
FBI  
RECORDS ROOM

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DCL:dmr  
(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Towanda, Kansas  
Nov. 29, 1959

✓  
The Honorable  
J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

Let me say first, that as a Christian and a Sunday School worker, I sincerely appreciate the stand that you have taken in regards to the importance of spiritual training in the life of an individual. My earnest prayer is that God may continue to give you strength and wisdom in your fight against sin. Also I pray that God may continue to protect you from the many enemies which you no doubt face.

I want to thank you for your effort in writing the book, "Masters of Deceit", which I am now reading. It is a book which should be read by every American. *Handwritten initials*

Please send me a reprint of the article, "The Role of the Sunday School" from the Feb. 23, 1957 issue of "The Sunday School Times". I thank you in advance for this.

EX 109

REC-48

Sincerely,

DEC 10 1959

*ack-mml  
12-9-59  
NCC*  

Box 495  
Towanda, Kansas

b6  
b7C

*Handwritten signature*  
CRIMINAL  
DEC 10 1959

RA

REC- 34

62-104277-1370

December 3, 1959

EX 109

Mrs. [redacted]  
2608 East Wallace Avenue  
Fullerton, California

b6  
b7C

Dear Mrs. [redacted]

Your letter of November 25, 1959, has been received, and I sincerely appreciate your very kind comments concerning my book.

I am pleased that "Masters of Deceit" proved to be of value to you, and in response to your request, I am enclosing some additional material on this same topic which you may find interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (4)

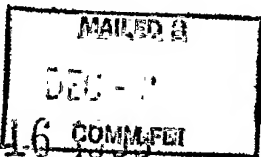
Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality  
Communism: The Bitter Enemy of Religion  
God and Country or Communism?  
Director's Statement Before Internal Security Committee, 3-12-57

b6  
b7C

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with Mrs. [redacted]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RFL:jrf  
(3)



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECEIVED  
FBI  
DEC 11 1959  
4 48 PM '59

November 25, 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I would like to tell you what a strong impression reading your book, Masters of Deceit, made upon me. Because of your book, I became aware, for the first time, of the dangers of political disinterest and passive participation in government, so I took the following action:

I have become actively interested in my political party.

I am joining the League of Women Voters.

I now consistently read the national and international news in the three newspapers that we subscribe to, one local, one metropolitan, and the Wall Street Journal, in addition to the kind of news that is "more interesting" in that it requires nothing of one in the way of understanding, concentration and action.

Because I have a special interest in education, (my husband would like to return to college to get a Doctorate in Aeronautical Engineering), I have studied the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the bills now in committee and have written to six members of Congress about aid to graduate students returning to college from industry, an area I do not feel was covered.

I have written to my Congressmen about such areas as labor, farm policy, etc., and intend to continue writing as the occasions arise.

This is not a very impressive list, but it is a whole lot more than I had ever done before, or anticipated doing. I find that being even a reasonably responsible citizen is pretty close to a full time job. Yet I find myself wishing I had more time to devote to it, because there is so much that could be done.

You have saved one citizen, at least, from an irresponsible oblivion. I thought you might like to know it.

EX 109

REC-34 62-104277-1370  
Sincerely and gratefully yours,

Mrs. [redacted]  
2608 East Wallace Ave.  
Fullerton, Calif.

b6  
b7C

P.S. Can one of your staff tell me if there is available a bibliography in the same area as Masters of Deceit, i.e., the Communist threat? I would like very much to do some further reading on the subject. Thank you.

rec'd  
ack. 12-3-59  
RFL: jv



62-104277-1371

**CHANGED TO**

94-56869-X3

MAR 14 1962

mk KA

2

62-104277 1372

REC- 14

December 7, 1959

Mr. [redacted]  
Oak Place, Ayrlawn  
Bethesda 14, Maryland

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [redacted]

Thank you very much for your letter postmarked December 1, 1959, and for your generous comments concerning my book, "Masters of Deceit." I am certainly pleased to know that it has interested you to this degree. You may like to know it has appeared in serial form in several newspapers.

I am enclosing some additional material on the subject of communism which I think you will like to read.

Sincerely yours,

DEC 7 3 39 PM '59  
FBI

**Enclosures (7)**

God and Country or Communism?  
Struggle on a New Plane  
How to Beat Communism  
The Communists Are After Our Minds

Communist "New Look"  
What You Can Do To Fight  
Communism  
Director's Statement Before  
Internal Security Subcommittee  
March 12, 1957

NOTE: No derogatory information was located in Bufiles concerning [redacted]

Only one outgoing letter was found dated 5-15-52.

b6  
b7C

BDA:jrf/gct  
(3)

MAILED 8  
DEC - 7  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]  
Oak Place, Ayrclawn  
Bethesda 14, Maryland

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

*[Handwritten signature]*

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Just finished reading your "Masters of Deceit" and I am firmly convinced your effort in putting this most needed book together, will in years to come if God willing we remain a free nation, be looked back on as a milestone in the awakening of our nation to the nature of the enemy in our midst.

This information must be brought to the ready attention of All America and in particular to those people who never buy a book or invest more than the price of a newspaper in a literary way. There have been many serialized stories run in the daily papers such as the Washington Star and other, whose contribution to a better understanding of our American heritage is most certainly questionable—so I wonder if serializing your "Masters of Deceit" nation-wide in the daily papers is just a bit of wishful thinking on my part or does it merit practical consideration.

The facts contained in your most enlightening book must be brought to the light of public attention of all America—as we seem unconsciously to be slipping into the clutches of communism through our over-emphasis on materialism and the alarming disregard for the truth under oath as evidenced in the late television expose.

I sincerely feel the country is indebted to you for your continuing effort and personal contribution to the maintenance of the American way of life and the perpetuation of a God fearing America.

b6  
b7C

copy: bak

DEC 2 1959

*myrd*  
*Oct. 12-7-59*  
*1357*

*g/1002*

Our Place by law  
Bethesda Md

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Just finished reading your "Masters of Deceit" and I am firmly convinced your effort in putting this most needed book together, will in years to come if God willing we remain a free nation, be looked back on as a milestone in the awakening of our nation to the nature of the enemy in our midst.

This information must be brought to the ready attention of All America and in particular to those people who never buy a book or invest more than the price of a newspaper in a literary way. There have been many serialized stories run in the daily papers such as the Washington Star and others, who's contribution to a better understanding of American Heritage is most certainly questionable - so how does it serialize your "Masters of Deceit" nation-wide in the daily paper is just a lot of wishful thinking on my part or does it merit practical consideration?

4 DEC 11 1959

The facts contained in your most enlightening book must be brought to the light of public attention of all America - as we seem unconsciously to be  
over

Slipping into the clutches of Communism  
through the over-emphasis on Materialism and  
the alarming disregard for the truth under oath  
as evidenced in the Katz Television Expose.

Sincerely feel the country is indebted to  
you for your continuing effort and personal contribution  
to the maintenance of the American way of life  
and the perpetuation of a God Fearing America.



b6  
b7C

Rev  
Ch 12-17

December 10, 1959

EX-109

REC-18

62-104277-1373

~~62-104277-1374~~

Mr. Shih-Ju Hu  
230 Fernando Avenue  
Palo Alto, California

Dear Mr. Hu:

Your letter of November 13, 1959, and the inscribed copy of the Chinese version of my book, "Masters of Deceit," were brought to my attention upon my return to Washington. It was most thoughtful of you to send the book to me, and I certainly appreciate the gift. You may be sure I am grateful for your many kind comments about it.

It was good of you to bring to my attention your proposed program to assist in the political and social education of the many individuals in the United States who are of Chinese ancestry, and I would be interested in having the benefit of your ideas on the subject if you should desire to make them available to me.

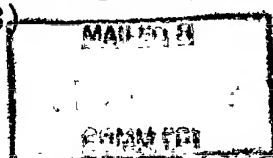
Sincerely yours,

Dec 16 1 18 PM '59  
FBI  
RECEIVED  
NOV 13 1959

NOTE: See Jones to DeLoach Memo of 12-9-59 captioned "Mr. Shih-Ju Hu, 230 Fernando Avenue, Palo Alto, California." 2

BDA:ldg/der/hmm

(3)



- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holloman \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

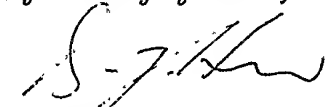
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

During recent years more and more Chinese intellectuals have come to this country under the Refugee Relief Program. Generally speaking, they are better informed than other Chinese residents here, especially those who came to the United States before 1949. However, the Chinese intellectuals do feel something wanting -- firstly, they need some medium through which to express their views and ideas in adjusting themselves to their new life, and secondly, they need as most Americans do some source of first-hand information and analysis of developments in Communist China.

Many people agree with me that in the field of political and social education available to most Chinese in the United States there is a vacuum which needs to be filled urgently. We feel that a program, under which periodicals and series of pamphlets and books in Chinese are to be prepared and published, can do much to meet this need. I myself would like to organize such a Chinese publication program if sponsorship can be secured. Among the Chinese intellectuals in this country are many competent writers and editors. We are in close contact with cultural workers in the Far East and thus have access to source materials. We believe we can do a good job in preparing sound information for publication in the Chinese language.

I am acquainted with your feelings about communism as expressed in your book, Masters of Deceit, and, as a spokesman of the Chinese intellectuals in this country, I appeal to you, a great man of broad vision and a staunch champion of world freedom, for guidance and assistance. Upon receiving your favorable response, I shall submit to you a detailed proposal for your approval.

Very truly yours,

  
Shih-Ju HU

1 attch H's  
2-12-60



62-104277-1374  
incoming dated 12-2-59  
outgoing dated 12-10-59

**CHANGED TO**

62-105919-X1  
62-104277-1373

FEB 16 1960

J. M.

C

November 25, 1959

REC-18 62-104277-1375  
~~62-104277-1375~~

Mr. Shih-Ju Hu  
230 Fernando Avenue  
Palo Alto, California

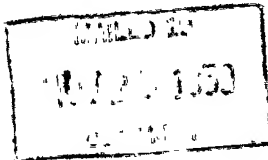
S. J. H. H.

Dear Mr. Hu:

Your letter dated November 13, 1959, and the inscribed copy of the Chinese version of "Masters of Deceit" have been received in the absence of Mr. Hoover from Washington, D. C.; however, you may be sure that they will be brought to his attention upon his return to this city. I know that he will appreciate your gift and your interest in writing.

Sincerely yours,

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary



FBI  
RECEIVED ROOM

38 PM '59

NOTE: See airtel of same date to SAC, San Francisco.

BDA:ldg

(3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 17 1960

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. McGuire ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Mr. Jones ☒  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

The attached Chinese version of  
"Masters of Deceit," was sent to the  
Director from S. J. Hu,  
230 Fernando Ave., Palo Alto,  
California. It was autographed  
as follows:

To Dear Mr. Hoover  
with compliments of The translator

REC-23 62-104277-1375

bak

23 DEC 4 1959

EX-117

CRIME REC.

8/18/59

From: S. J. Hu  
230 Fernando Ave.  
Palo Alto, Calif.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, F. B. I.  
Department of Justice  
Constitution Ave. & 10th St. N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Printed Matter

AIR MAIL

November 30, 1959

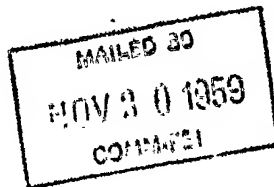
Mr. [redacted]  
Route 1, Box 144  
Redlands, California

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [redacted]

Your letter of November 19, 1959, with enclosures, was received during Mr. Hoover's absence from the city, and I am acknowledging it for him. I know he will be pleased by your comments regarding "Masters of Deceit" and will appreciate having the benefit of your observations.

Sincerely yours,



REC- 23

Helen W. Gandy  
Secretary

16 DEC 1959

NOTE: [redacted] possibly is identical with [redacted] Redlands, California, subject of Bufile 25-397501. He was investigated under the Selective Service Act of 1948 for failure to report for induction. He was located and subsequently classified 4F. Prosecution declined by Assistant United States Attorney.

b6  
b7C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DWB:rjd  
(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DEC 16 1959

62-104277-1377  
**CHANGED TO**  
62-105919-X2

FEB 16 1960

D. M.

C

AUTOMATIC PHONE: 14-331  
CABLE ADDRESS: "JUCMON-GUAYAQUIL"  
NATIONAL PHONE: C. 177

# ICHONIS

MISSION-MERCHANDISE

APARTADO No. 4210

GUAYAQUIL/ECUADOR  
SUD AMERICA

## OFFICES & SHOWROOMS:

CALLE PIO MONTUFAR 1614.  
P. O. BOX 4210, OR 82.

LETTER NR. 02

December 7th, 1959

Mr.

J. Edgar Hoover,  
4936 Thirtieth Place,  
Zone 8, WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

I have much pleasure in acknowledging due receipt of your kind letter of November 4th, 1959, but I am very, very sad to see that you have returned me my endorsement Nr. 153644 for US\$5.00 dollars and therefore, you have not sent any copy of your book entitled "MASTERS OF DECEIT". It seems to be that in Ecuador nobody can read your book in English nor in Spanish. Since April 24th, 1958, I am writing to your country for this book and thus far I cannot obtain a one copy in the English language nor in Spanish.

Perhaps you received a magnificent welcome from the publishers or the like, but the book is not circulating where he ought to be circulating, or this book is running the same risk of the "International Jew" of Mr. Henry Ford, in its first years, and "The History of a Crime against the Food Law" by Mr. Harvey W. Wiley, but for your book, "MASTERS OF DECEIT", perhaps there will not be a Lee Foundation for Nutritional Research, who can re-edit for their own account and send it directly to your readers or prospective readers, in the whole world.

In this country we the Ecuadorians need urgently many, many copies of your book in mention, either written in English or in Spanish, but personally I prefer it in the English language, because some publishers used to disfigure the original text officiously, or else perversely, so that many times the mind of author is reversed barefacedly. For instance, a communist propaganda can be introduced to the Spanish speaking countries in a book entitled "MASTERS OF DECEIT" by J. Edgar Hoover, as a Spanish version. REC-61

Enclosed you will find a copy of the letter that I have written today to Messrs. Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A. and if they do not send me the book a prudential term I shall write to you again.

I am sure that Krushchev is deceiving stingily your President, because what he wishes is that your country withdraw the American missile basis from the Russian frontiers; any other thing is pure story and nothing more.

Thanking you in advance for your prompt and kind attention to the above, I am, Dear Mr. Hoover,

Yours faithfully

Mr. T. L. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

EXP. PROC.

2  
Handwritten notes and stamps in the bottom left corner.

62 DEC 22 1959

b6  
b7C

APARTADO NUM.4210,  
GUAYAQUIL/ECUADOR  
South America

b6  
b7C

December 7th, 1938

Messrs.

Henry Holt & Co., Inc.,  
383 Madison Avenue,  
New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A.

26336

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed you will find my endorsement No. 158213 in the amount of US\$.5,00 drawn by F. Perrone Rizze against the Grace National Bank of New York in order that you can send me, by registered sea-mail, a copy of the book entitled "MASTERS OF DECEIT" by J. Edgar Hoover, which copy may be written originally in the English language or translated into Spanish. By return sea-mail, you must send me a copy of the English version or a copy of the Spanish version, in accordance with the letter to me from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

Your representatives in Ecuador, Messrs. Libreria Cientifica of Mr. Bruns Meritz tell that they do not know anything about this book.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover tells me that "further details concerning his book may be obtained from Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York" and therefore, I hope that you will send me this book without any delay by return registered sea-mail. A copy of the present letter is being sent for information to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

Thanking you in advance for your prompt and kind attention to the above, and awaiting with extreme interest your early reply to same in the way of sending me the book, I am, Dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

b6  
b7C

P. S. I prefer the English version, but if you cannot send me a copy of the English version, please send me then a copy of the Spanish version.

Enclosure

Original check No. 158213 for US\$.5,00 dollars drawn by F. Perrone Rizze to my order, duly endorsed to your order by me, and against the Grace National Bank of New York.

JCh/csm.--

cc: Second Airmail.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Washington 25, D.C., U.S.A.

62-104277-1378

f138

in

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: December 15, 1959

FROM : Mr. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MR. [REDACTED]

COMMISSION - MERCHANT  
APARTADO NUMBER 4210  
GUAYAQUIL, ECUADORb6  
b7C

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Gandy	_____

Captioned individual wrote Director December 7, 1959, informing the Director he had written to Henry Holt and Company to obtain a copy of "Masters of Deceit" which he desires to obtain in the English language for translation into Spanish. He also sent copy of his letter to Henry Holt and Company. By letter dated October 28, 1959, the captioned individual wrote the Director enclosing a check for \$5 for the purpose of purchasing a copy of "Masters of Deceit." He was interested in obtaining the book to translate it into the Spanish version for further distribution. By letter dated November 4, 1959, his check was returned and he was informed that "Masters of Deceit" had already been translated into the Spanish language and he should contact Henry Holt and Company.

b6  
b7C

From the tone of Mr. [REDACTED] current letter he would appear to be slightly miffed that we did not send him a copy of "Masters of Deceit" as he had hoped; however, in view of the fact that he is desirous of translating the book into the Spanish language for further distribution, he was referred previously to Henry Holt and Company and rightly so. It would be necessary for him to obtain permission for the publisher to translate the book for further distribution. It is felt that no acknowledgment of this letter is necessary.

RECOMMENDATION:

That no acknowledgment be made of this letter.

ELC:bla  
(2)

REC-61

62-104327 1379  
25 DEC 16 1959

EX-117

CRIME REC.

62 DEC 22 1959



62-104277

December 10, 1959

Mr. [REDACTED]  
2922 North 39th Street  
Phoenix, Arizona

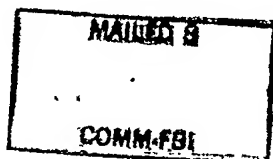
b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Your letter of December 1, 1959, has been received, and your kind expression of confidence in the work being done by the FBI is deeply appreciated. I am glad also that you have found my book, "Masters of Deceit," of interest.

I appreciate your thought in forwarding the clippings you enclosed. For your information, investigation concerning the matter you mentioned was conducted by the New York City Police Department and in the absence of any information reflecting jurisdiction on the part of the FBI, it was not possible for us to enter the case. You may be assured, however, that the facilities of our Identification Division and FBI Laboratory are constantly available to local law enforcement agencies in cases of this type.

Sincerely yours,



59 PM 59

NOTE: Bufiles reflect one prior letter from same correspondent dated 5-19-59 in which he brought to the Bureau's attention press releases making allegations concerning the manner in which we investigated the lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville, Mississippi. Bulet 5-28-59 refuted these charges and related press releases were sent [REDACTED] (44-14403-346)

b6  
b7C

DCL:bla:td:dmr  
(3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 105



REALTOR

b6  
b7CPhoenix, Arizona  
2922 N. 39th Street  
CR 7-2138

December 1, 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am taking the liberty of again addressing a letter to you and wish to thank you for the information in your letter to me on May 28, 1959.

I am enclosing an article by the foreign editor of the Arizona Republic on the death of Bang-Jensen. I am firmly convinced that Bang-Jensen did not kill himself. I think the communists murdered him. I do not know if you have the authority to investigate this death, but if you do have I urge you to make a thorough investigation. Also enclosed is an editorial from the same paper on this tragedy.

I have become acquainted with your new head of the F. B. I. in Phoenix, Ed Boyle, and have found him a very wonderful person. Your former agent here, McMahan, suggested I read your book, MASTERS OF DECEIT, which I did and have had the members of my committee on Americanism and Anti-Communism of the State Parks Association also read it. I was in the drugstore the other night and saw they have it out in the pocket edition now and I am going to buy a dozen to give out to my friends to read.

Thank you for reading this letter from a 100% booster of the F. B. I. and J. Edgar Hoover.

b6  
b7C

Sincerely yours,



Encs.

105-61515-60  
ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN2 ENCLOSURE  
nm  
ack. 12/17/59  
DCL62-104277  
NOT RECORDED  
145 DEC 17 1959CRIME REC  
a/c

December 8, 1959

Mr. Edgar T. Rigg  
President  
Henry Holt and Company, Inc.  
333 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing a check in the amount of \$690.14 to cover the balance due on your invoice dated October 8, 1959, for 500 copies of "Masters of Deceit." The Account Number is 3 001 847.

The sales have been going very nicely, and I feel we should order an additional 200 copies at this time to be sent as quickly as possible.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Clyde Tolson

Enclosure

*4/675.00 WAS SENT  
11/19/59 ON SAME INVOICE.*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

BMS:jcs  
(4)

REC-92



25 DEC 16 1959

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Legal Attache, Mexico City

December 15, 1959

Director, FBI

**"MAESTROS DEL ENGAÑO"**  
**ERNESTO SANCHES DE SALAZAR**  
**AVENIDA MORELOS NUMBER 45**  
**MEXICO 1, D. F.**

I have been informed by Henry Holt and Company that His Eminence, Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston, Massachusetts, is most desirous of purchasing 5000 copies of the Spanish edition of "Masters of Deceit," which is entitled "Maestros Del Engano." In preliminary negotiations, Mr. Ernesto Sanches de Salazar, who manages "Editorial Letras" the publishing firm of "Maestros Del Engano," has made an offer to sell 5000 copies at \$1.50 per copy. Richard Cardinal Cushing believes this offer to be high in view of the quantity of copies being ordered.

I have been further advised by Henry Holt and Company that numerous attempts have been made to get in touch with Ernesto Sanches de Salazar; however, he is seldom in his office and most difficult to reach.

I do not desire to interfere with the business activities of Henry Holt and Company. In view of my long-standing friendship with Richard Cardinal Cushing and in view of my personal knowledge that he plans to use "Maestros Del Engano" for the purpose of fighting communism in Latin America, I feel it may be possible for us to render some assistance in this matter.

You should contact Ernesto Sanches de Salazar and mention that while this is strictly a matter between "Editorial Letras" and Henry Holt and Company, at the same time, we wish to inform him that Richard Cardinal Cushing is most desirous of procuring 5000 copies of "Maestros Del Engano" as expeditiously as possible for the purpose of distributing these books in Latin America in order to fight communism. De Salazar should be advised that Cardinal Cushing is well known to the FBI. You should ascertain the exact price at which de Salazar is willing to furnish an order of 5000 copies for Cardinal Cushing's purposes.

Advise the Bureau no later than December 29, 1959, of the result of your contacts in the above regard.

20 DEC 18 1959

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_ 1 - Mr. Jones (Sent direct)  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_ 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review) (Sent direct)  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_ See informal memo from Mr. DeLoach to Mr. Tolson captioned "Masters of  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_ Deceit," "Maestros Del Engano" (Spanish Language Edition), 12/15/59.  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CDD:geg (6)

AA

62-10177-1362

December 17, 1959

Mr. [redacted]  
Apartment 10  
2211 West Wells Street  
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin

b. 10177-1362

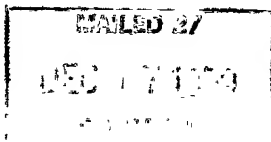
b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [redacted]

I have received your letter dated December 12, 1959, and I am pleased to learn that you have studied "Masters of Deceit."

Your interest in writing to me is very much appreciated, and I am glad to have the benefit of your observations and comments.

Sincerely yours,



RECEIVED

NOTE: Correspondent wrote similar letter in May, 1958 stating he had read "Masters of Deceit," and he asked why America did not outlaw the Communist Party. His letter was acknowledged on May 12, 1958.

SAW:jo/mch  
(3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

10 43 PM '59  
FBI  
RECEIVED

TRUE COPY

2211 W. Wells St. Apt 10  
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin  
December 12, 1959

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington D. C.

Honorable Sir:

Have just completed a study of your splendid contribution  
"Masters of Deceit."

Since I have lived these 42 years, during and after the Revolution  
in Russia, I appreciate the tactics employed.

As you say, Communists have succeeded in having others do  
their work for them.

I'm aware that Communists know how to make their opponents  
look bad. Their infiltration is nation wide.

The Socialistic aspects of our own government has largely been  
promoted by Communists and their fellow travelers.

In a word, they have adulterated Capitalism and rugged  
individualism.

At a recent Wisconsin State Republican Convention which I  
attended as a voting alternate due to the absence of a delegate a dignified  
gentlemen of my delegation turned to me and asked, "[ ]-how many men  
on the convention floor do you recognize as having marched in Communist  
May Day parades back in 1932.?" I had to admit I could identify quite a few.  
These comrades or ex comrades are now having much to say about our party's  
policy.

b6  
b7c

I volunteered the opinion that Communism had matured politically.  
No longer need they seek office under their own banner because their numbers  
had increased to the point where they could control the activity and policy of  
one or both of our major political parties.

They endeavor to nominate their candidate in both parties and  
support the one where they have succeeded. If in both, they naturally will  
back the one who is for all out aid to Russia.

"Make no mistake about it politicians solicit their support."

(8)mcj/1100

Dec 13 1959  
11/10

12-16-59 90

"Many Americans feel that as long as they must coexist they will "adjust to it" in order to continue as going concerns."

It is regrettable that the American government has made this condition necessary.

Nevertheless, the worm is beginning to turn because the have not Americans in this artificial coexistence are beginning to seek vengeance because of what has happened to their families and their possessions, and a day of reckoning appears to be near.

I believe I will live to see the day that Communism falls and when it does I'm sure that any one in or out of government who has been even remotely connected with it will hang or be shot. So great is the backlog of 42 years of criminal action by these beasts that no government will be able to restrain the victims. No revolution can murder and dispossess nations forever nor can politicians cover up forever. "There must be a day of reckoning."

All Christians believe in commutative justice which permits a lesser punishment for penitents. The punishment must fit the crime. For old line Communists I see none other than brutal death as fitting. This will happen. The fight of the Mc Carthy's, Mc Arthurs, and scores of others will not be in vain. It has been and is worthwhile.

With Kindest Regards b6  
s/  b7C

P.S. Communists have reason to fear which explains much of their murder and other crimes.

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover  
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington D.C.

2211 W. Wells St. Apt 10  
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin  
December 12, 1959

Honorable Sir:

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"Masters of Deceit."

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I attended as a voting alternate due to the absence of a delegate a  
dignified gentleman of my delegation turned to me and asked b6  
b7C —  
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having marched in Communist May Day parades back in 1932?  
I had to admit I could identify quite a few. These comrades or  
ex comrades are now having much to say about our party's policy.

I volunteered the opinion that Communists b6  
b7C —  
No longer need they seek office under their own banner because their



members had increased to the point where they could control the activity and policy of one of our major political parties.

They endeavor to nominate their candidate in both parties and support the one where they have succeeded. In both, they naturally will back the one who is for all out aid to Russia.

"Make no mistake about it politicians solicit their support."

"Many Americans feel that as long as they must coexist they will adjust to it in order to continue as going concerns."

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P.S. Communists have reasons to fear which explains much of their murder and other crimes.

With K. L. V. Regards

b6  
b7c

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*W* Mr. Tolson ☒  
*W* Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. McGuire ☒  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Mr. Jones ☒  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ☒  
~~Tele. Room~~ \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*file*

*no action*  
*SM*  
*Self*

ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATIONS  
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Houston Tex Dec 12 59

*Mr. T. A. of Detroit*

Dear Sir:

I am told that you are a captive of international Jewish power and influence in Washington, and that this explains why you did not put the finger on them, as well as upon our religious ministers, when you wrote "Masters of Deception" and "Deadly menace of the Pseudo Liberals!"

If this is true then I suggest you take a big drink of Gallo Muscatel (as I did when I wrote this) and use that mind of yours to help correct the damage--anonomously.

Yours truly,

The same.

EX - 121

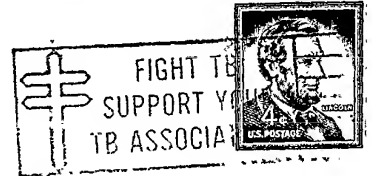
REC-65

*62-104-77-1383*

DEC 18 1959

*gma*

3 DEC 28 1959



Mr J. Edgar Hoover

Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*

DATE: 12/7/59

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: "MASTERS OF DECEIT"

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

b6  
b7C

The El Paso Office, by report dated 11/20/59 in the case entitled [redacted] Security Matter - C" indicated that on October 26, 1959, [redacted] voluntarily appeared at the El Paso Office and requested to see an Agent. Upon interview he advised that he had decided to come to the FBI and furnish all information concerning his activities as a member of the Communist Party. He stated that his decision to come to the FBI was brought about through his having read the book, "Masters of Deceit."

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that he had been a member of the Communist Party from September, 1948, to August, 1949, in Colorado. He furnished information concerning his recruitment and individuals whom he knew as Party members. (100-365544-27)

It is of interest to note that [redacted] defection from the Communist Party, according to his own statement, was based on a reading of the Director's book.

b6  
b7CRECOMMENDATION:

For information.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FCS:jss (4)

REC-43

62-104277-1384  
12 DEC 17 1959

62 DEC 24 1959

44-117

100-361174 111 111385  
December 18, 1959

Dr. [redacted]  
370 Grand Concourse  
Miami 38, Florida

b6  
b7C

Dear Dr. [redacted]

Your letter of December 10, 1959, has been received. Your generous remarks concerning my book are sincerely appreciated, and I was happy to learn that it has been of assistance to you. It was a pleasure to autograph the book to you for Special Agent [redacted]

b6  
b7C

In view of your interest in this vital subject, I am taking the liberty of enclosing material concerning communism. I want to thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing to me, and I am deeply grateful for your prayers and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

**Enclosures (5)**

God and Country or Communism?  
Communist "New Look"  
Struggle on a New Plane  
How to Beat Communism  
Communist Persecution of Churches in Red China & Northern Korea

2 - Miami - Enclosures (2)

1 - Personnel File of SA C. [redacted] - Enclosure

b6  
b7C

NOTE: SA C. [redacted] EOD 10-23-50, GS-12, assigned Miami. Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. Title of Dr. per autograph placed on book to him.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RWK:jab  
(6)

DEC 29 1959

MAIL ROOM [ ]

TELETYPE UNIT [ ]

DEC 19 11 32 AM '59  
READING ROOM  
FBI

TRUE COPY

PASTOR'S STUDY

Dear Mr. Hoover-

Some months ago, upon his return from Washington, Agent [redacted] presented me with a copy, autographed, of your very wonderful book, Masters of Deceit.  
b6  
b7C

This is just to express appreciation to you for this very excellent work, and the program of the Bureau under your direction. I have found occasion to quote the book from the platform and am grateful to you for making this information available to us.

May God richly bless you and the work to which you have given yourself in the interest of our great nation and our children.

Cordially

/s/ [redacted] b6  
b7C

Dec. 10, 1959

no. 6, 12-18-59  
as RWR/jah

4 true copies  
12-17-59  
jah

RWR-8

PASTOR'S STUDY

Dear Mr. Hoover -

Some months ago, upon his return from Washington, Agent [redacted] presented me with a copy, autographed, of your very wonderful book, Masters of Deceit. b6 b7C

This is just to express appreciation to you for this very excellent work, and the program of the Bureau under your direction. I have found occasion to quote the book from the platform and am grateful to you for making this information available to us.

May God richly bless you and the work to which you have given yourself in the interest of our great nation and our children.

Cordell [redacted] b6 b7C

Dec. 10, 1959

12-15-59  
[redacted]

2 true copies  
12-17-59

John

Quik



DEC 15 9 03 AM '5

RECEIVED

## MIAMI SHORES BAPTIST CHURCH

"WHERE FRIENDLINESS PREVAILS"

N. E. FOURTH AVENUE AT NINETY-SIXTH STREET

MIAMI SHORES 38, FLORIDA



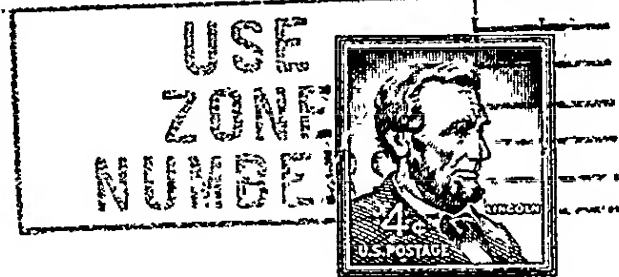
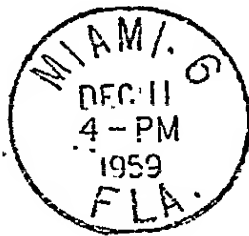
*Every morning lean thine arms awhile*

*Upon the window sill of Heaven*

*And gaze upon thy Lord,*

*Then with the vision in thy heart,*

*Turn strong to meet the day.*



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
U. S. Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington  
D.C.

3.70 [GRAND CONCOURSE]  
MIAMI 38, FLORIDA

0 Minutes of Unit

REC-50

117

62-104272-1385

18 DEC 21 1959

REC- 45

100-4277-1386

December 22, 1959

Reverend [REDACTED]  
Westminster Presbyterian Church  
2515 Woodley Road  
Montgomery, Alabama

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

I have been informed that during one of your recent sermons you recommended "Masters of Deceit" to the members of your congregation, and I want to take this occasion to express my deep appreciation for your most generous remarks.

It is indeed reassuring to us in the FBI to have your support and to know that you are urging your church members to be constantly alert to the menace of communism. As you have stated, this atheistic way of life is a dangerous threat not only to the United States but to the entire world.

Again, my thanks for your kind statements about my book, and I wish you every success in your efforts to combat communist materialism.

Sincerely yours,

*Handwritten signature*

1 - Mobile (62-0)  
Reurlet 12-9-59

b6  
b7C

NOTE: Bufiles reflect no record of Reverend [REDACTED] SA Spencer H. Robb, EOD 2-16-42, GS-13, assigned Mobile, SRA at Montgomery, Alabama.

WLD:cfn/tmf  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 12/9/59

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (62-0)

SUBJECT: REVEREND [REDACTED]  
 Westminster Presbyterian Church  
 Montgomery, Ala.  
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

SA SPENCER H. ROBB, SRA, Montgomery, Ala., has called the following to my attention:

On Sunday morning, 12/6/59, Rev. [REDACTED] Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, 2515 Woodley Rd., Montgomery, Ala., of which church SA ROBB is a member, preached a sermon entitled "Can a Christian be a Communist." At the beginning of his sermon Rev. [REDACTED] made reference to "an outstanding book on the subject of Communism, entitled Masters of Deceit, written by J. EDGAR HOOVER," and stated he would strongly recommend that this book be read by every member of the congregation.

b6  
b7C

Rev. [REDACTED] quoted extensively from Masters of Deceit in emphasizing the evils of Communism during his sermon. He did an outstanding job in his effort to alert the congregation to the dangerous threat of Communism to the church and to freedoms of all kinds, not only in this country, but in the entire world.

b6  
b7C

It is recommended that the Director send a letter of appreciation to Rev. [REDACTED] for his strong condemnation of Communism.

This letter should be addressed as follows: b6  
b7C

Reverend [REDACTED]  
 Westminster Presbyterian Church  
 2515 Woodley Road  
 Montgomery, Alabama

REC-45

62-104277-1366

DEC 23 1959

2 - Bureau  
 1 - Mobile  
 SHR-bls  
 (3)

b6  
b7C

8-104

REC-64

62-104277-1387

December 23, 1959

Mr. [redacted]  
5405 Miles Avenue  
Oakland 18, California

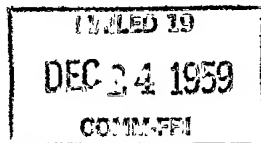
b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [redacted]

Your letter of December 9, 1959, enclosing your resume on communism, has been received. I have reviewed your manuscript, and I want you to know I appreciate your thoughtfulness in making it available to me. Since it may be of value to you, I am returning it herewith.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



b6  
b7C

Enclosure *eh*

NOTE: [redacted] wrote the Director on November 25, 1959, and volunteered some comments on the subject of communism and said he enjoyed the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit." At that time he offered to send his resume on communism. [redacted] did not say that the manuscript should be

returned, and inasmuch as it is ~~so~~ fully it is being returned. The manuscript deals with the writings of Thomas Jefferson, and is a theoretical discussion of Jeffersonian Democracy and communism. It defines various terms used in communism and explains its historical development. It would appear that it is quite lofty and detailed in content.

NHC:bla

(3) MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 23 2 48 PM '59  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

*Handwritten signatures and initials*

Oakland California  
December 9, 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

In your letter of December 2, 1959, you said that "It would be a pleasure to receive your resume on communism should you to forward it to me." In accordance with this, the resume is forwarded. It is in two packages marked Parts 1 and 2.

The pages of the resume are numbered from R-346 to R-500. The reason for this is that this resume is but part of a larger and much broader ~~discourse~~ discourse. I believe that you will understand the resume better if you understand the circumstances in which the whole discourse was written. These circumstances follow.

In 1949, one day while browsing among the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, I ran across one of them which has been forgotten and today is buried in his writings. I have seen no record of mention of it since 1824. It ~~xx~~ struck me that this idea could be of great use to us today. As a result, I spent nine and a half years writing up the idea.

My work is divided into five sections, which are lettered A to E inclusive.

Section A describes Jefferson's idea and how it applies to our political life today. If the idea is adopted and put into effect, it will strengthen public opinion and increase control over leaders. Every citizen of voting age is involved and is affected.

Section B tells ~~xxx~~ why every one should take an interest in public affairs. Today far too many people are indifferent to public affairs.

Section C tells of the part the individual should play in the operation of public opinion. Public opinion is similar to a tool. Just as a workman should know the capabilities of his tool and how to use it skillfully, so should the individual citizen know his tool of public opinion. He should know its capabilities its limitations, and how to use it.

Section D tells of a possible adjustment of Capitalist and Communist ideologies. If this adjustment is made, then it is possible that the "Cold War" may be ended.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

REC-67

62-104277-136

DEC 29 1959

DEC 14 1959

masters of Deceit

22  
ack 12-21-59  
mml



The ideology which a country follows shapes the way of ~~life~~ life and many of the thoughts and actions of that country. Many of the actions of the Russians in the "Cold War" are motivated by their ideology.

At present, the ideologies of the Free World and the Communist Countries differ on many points. The result is that there is much friction which might lead to war. If the two ideologies could be harmonized on the points involved, then a climate of friendship and good feeling might be created and the "Cold War" ended.

At first thought, it might seem impossible to reconcile the two ideologies on the points on which they now differ. As long as present conditions exist, I agree that it seems like a hopeless task.

If Jefferson's idea is utilized however, a new situation is created. In this new situation, an adjustment or reconciliation of the two ideologies ~~is possible~~ is possible.

\* Section D also contains a resume of the doctrines of Communism.

Section E discusses a necessary step which must be taken if mankind is to get the "Better World".

The enclosed resume is the part of Section D which is marked \* above. It begins with "Definition of Certain Terms" on page RX R-346. Much of it you know already, but I believe that there some ideas in it which will prove interesting. In this connection, I call your attention especially to control of leaders which is discussed on pages 491 (last paragraph) to 497 (next to last paragraph).

As I implied in my letter of November 25th, I believe that a greater effort can be made to break Communism's hold on so many people. I hope that my resume can be of help in this regard.

In conclusion, I wish to thank you very much for taking the time and trouble to read my work. I hope that you enjoy it.

Sincerely yours



b6  
b7C

5405 Miles Ave.  
Oakland 18  
California

ST  
7/1/59

(E) "MASTERS OF DECEIT" -- The Bureau has received a number of inquiries in connection with the Spanish edition of "Masters of Deceit." Those offices which have a large Spanish-speaking population should give consideration, during routine contact on other business matters, to mentioning to leaders of Spanish groups, newspaper officials connected with Spanish newspapers with whom we have friendly contact, and other sources of like nature, the fact that "Masters of Deceit" is now available in a Spanish-language edition. The title is "Maestros Del Engano." It is published by Editorial Letras. The address of Editorial Letras is Avenida Morelos, Number 45, Mexico 1, D. F. The telephone number of Editorial Letras is 21-69-39. In corresponding with Editorial Letras, inquiries should be directed to Mr. Ernesto Sanches de Salazar. "Maestros Del Engano" sells for \$2.50 in American currency.

12/22/59.

SAC LETTER NO. 59-78

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/27/83 BY SP8 BTJ/BCE

162-104277-

NOT RECORDED

102 DEC 30 1959

63 JAN 4 1960

193

ORIGINAL FILED IN 66-04-2915

December 29, 1959

REC-83 60 107-17-1388  
107-17-1388

Mr. [redacted]  
General Manager  
Sheraton-Dallas Hotel  
Dallas, Texas

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr [redacted]

Your very thoughtful note of December 16, 1959, has been received, and I am deeply grateful for your kind expression of Holiday Greetings.

Your generous comments concerning my book are indeed encouraging, and I am glad "Masters of Deceit" proved to be of interest to you.

Please accept my heartfelt best wishes for a new year filled with every measure of health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

Dec 29 9 38 AM '59  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

b6  
b7C

NOTE: Mr. [redacted] is General Manager of the above hotel, and he recently made available accommodations for the Director and Mr. Tolson when they visited Texas. He was furnished an autographed copy of "Masters of Deceit" 11-27-59.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

RFL:jab  
(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



# Sheraton-Dallas HOTEL

IN EXCLUSIVE SOUTHLAND CENTER  
DALLAS, TEXAS

Executive Offices

Telephone R 8-6244

Teletype DE 4497

*Key*

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

M. A. Jones  
*(Signature)*

December 16, 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Many, many thanks for your thoughtfulness  
in sending me a copy of MASTERS OF DECEIT  
--- it is something that should be read  
by every American.

Best of wishes and Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,

*(Signature)*

General Manager

b6  
b7C

RD/jr

EX - 124

REC- 68

62-104277-1788

14 DEC 30 1959

*ack 12-29-59  
Rr 1/1-jh*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: December 9, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: MR. SHIH-JU HU  
230 FERNANDO AVENUE  
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

By letter dated November 13, 1959, captioned individual indicated he was sending the Director, under separate cover, a Chinese translation of "Masters of Deceit." The book was subsequently received and bore an inscription to the Director. Mr. Hu indicated that he was the translator.

Mr. Hu said that very little has been published for the Chinese in the United States, and they have not learned about the menace of communism. He said the Chinese intellectuals feel something is lacking, namely a program under which periodicals, pamphlets and books in Chinese can be prepared and published. Mr. Hu would like to organize such a program if sponsorship can be secured. He desires Mr. Hoover's guidance and assistance and would like to submit a detailed proposal for the Director's approval.

No record was located in Bufiles concerning Mr. Hu. An in-absence reply dated 11-25-59 was sent him, and by airtel of same date, San Francisco was asked to discreetly obtain background information.

By airtel dated 12-2-59, the San Francisco Office advised that no derogatory information was located. San Francisco stated that, according to Immigration and Naturalization Service, Mr. Hu was born 1-26-09 at Fukien, China, and entered the United States for the first time on 8-27-59. He was a teacher and a secretary in various parts of China from 1925 to 1949. He was in Hong Kong from 1949 until his departure for the United States. The file indicated that he is married and has three children. Whereabouts of wife and children is unknown. No police record in Hong Kong and he was admitted to United States under Refugee Relief Act. Discreet physical surveillance revealed presently employed as assistant librarian at the Lane Memorial Library at Stanford University Hospital.

The Director may desire to have Mr. Hu's proposed program reviewed and to furnish him specific observations concerning it.

Enclosure sent 12-10-59

BDA:ldg/hmm

(2)

53 DEC 17 1959

Recommendation  
PAGE 2

FEB 17 1960

REC-61

7 DEC 11 1959

CRIMINAL  
62-104277-  
NOT RECORDED

79 FEB 12 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-105919-12

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter to Mr. Hu thanking him for the Chinese translation of "Masters of Deceit" and suggesting that he send in the details of his program be approved and sent.

H

V

Deford

OK

2

12-28-59

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

REC-72

1389

TO LEGAL ATTACHE MEXICO CITY

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

"MAESTROS DEL ENGANO," ERNESTO SANCHES DE SALAZAR, AVENIDA MORELOS, NUMBER FOUR FIVE, MEXICO ONE, D. F. REURCABLEGRAM DECEMBER TWENTY FIVE, LAST. YOU SHOULD PURSUE POSSIBILITY ABOVE BOOKS BEING PUBLISHED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE AND MADE AVAILABLE TO CARDINAL CUSHING. SHOULD THIS ACTION PROVE UNSUCCESSFUL, YOU SHOULD THEN CONTACT SANCHES DE SALAZAR. BUREAU DESIRES TO BE KEPT ADVISED OF RESULTS OF YOUR CONTACTS.

ULG:jac  
(7)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for Review)

NOTE: By letter 12-15-59, Legat was advised of Cardinal Cushing's desire to purchase 5,000 copies of the Spanish edition of "Masters of Deceit" and was instructed to contact Ernesto Sanches de Salazar. Legat advised that de Salazar on vacation at Acapulco until 1-4-60 and not possible to contact telephonically. Legat further advised of possibility of arranging for 5,000 copies published at government expense and donated to Cardinal Cushing. Legat inquired whether he

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_ should make road trip to Acapulco to contact de Salazar on persue possibility  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_ of obtaining books published at government expense.

McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CABLE  
DEC 29 1959  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENC. \_\_\_\_\_  
CK. \_\_\_\_\_  
APPROVED BY \_\_\_\_\_  
TYPED BY \_\_\_\_\_

## DECODED COPY

*Adams*

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

☐ Airgram☒ Cablegram

URGENT

12-25-59

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT, MEXICO CITY

NO. 534

~~CODE~~ "MAESTROS DEL ENGANO" ~~UNQUOTE~~ ERNESTO SANCHES DE SALAZAR, AVENIDA MORELOS NUMBER 45, MEXICO 1, D F. RE-BULET DECEMBER 15 LAST. SANCHES DE SALAZAR ON VACATION IN ACAPULCO UNTIL JANUARY 4 NEXT, NO TELEPHONE BUT LOCAL ADDRESS KNOWN.  FOR UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE THIS EMBASSY AND WHO IS FAMILIAR WITH SOME OF ADMINISTRATIVE DETAIL CONNECTED WITH PUBLISHING OF BOOK IN MEXICO CITY ADVISED ME HE THINKS IT POSSIBLE HIS AGENCY WOULD CONSIDER HAVING THE FIVE THOUSAND COPIES PUBLISHED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE AND DONATED TO CARDINAL CUSHING. HE STATED THUS FAR THEY HAVE BEEN PAYING MEXICO CITY PUBLISHER ONE DOLLAR FIFTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY. BUREAU PLEASE ADVISE: (1) IF ROAD TRIP TO ACAPULCO TO CONTACT SANCHES DE SALAZAR DEEMED ADVISABLE. (2) IF BUREAU INTERESTED IN PURSUING POSSIBILITY BOOKS BE PUBLISHED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE AND MADE AVAILABLE TO CARDINAL CUSHING.

b6  
b7c

RECEIVED:

12-25-59

REC-79

JOHN N. SPEAKES

62-104277-1389  
1:31 PM  
14 DEC 30 1959

MAP

**CRIMINAL RECORDS**

*Adams*



11  
REC- 58

EX 109

104-71-1390  
December 30, 1959

Mr. E. F. Vickers  
President  
The Citizens Bank and Trust Company  
Bainbridge, Georgia

Dear Mr. Vickers:

Your letter of December 19, 1959, has been received, and your kind remarks about Special Agent [ ] and my book, "Masters of Deceit," are most gratifying. I want you to know your comments concerning my administration of this Bureau's affairs are indeed appreciated, and you may be sure that I will constantly strive to merit your continued support.

b6  
b7C

It was good of you to make your observations concerning the communist menace available to me. I feel it is imperative that we as Americans rededicate ourselves to the principles of democracy if we are to defeat this threat to our way of life.

Many thanks for your Season's Greetings, and may I take this occasion to wish you a new year filled with an abundance of joy.

Sincerely yours,

2 - Atlanta - Enclosures (2)  
1 - Personnel File of SA [ ] - Enclosure

NOTE: Nothing identifiable in Bufiles for E. F. Vickers. SA [ ]  
[ ] EOD 1-19-42, presently assigned Atlanta Office in GS-13.

NHC:kfy/td

(6)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 30  
RECORD READING ROOM  
B I

b6  
b7C

THE CITIZENS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

*Decatur County's Friendly Bank*

BAINBRIDGE, GEORGIA

E. F. VICKERS  
PRESIDENT

December 19, 1959

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

M. A. Jones

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I received yesterday from one of your agents in Atlanta, Mr. [redacted] an autographed copy of "Masters of Deceit." The thing that made me proud to receive it was that in autographing the book you called my name. I thank you very much for it and I am sure I shall read it with a lot of interest.

I think about the Communist menace to our country every day and a good part of the night, and hope that we will be able to survive and conquer it. What really worries me about the situation is that we are so prosperous and are so bent on pleasure in this country, as compared to the fact that the Communists have a single goal, I don't know whether we can do it or not.

It is mighty comforting to have you, whom I have long regarded as one of our finest public servants, at the head of the FBI.

This boy, Idus Lynn, to whom I referred, is one of the finest characters I have ever known. He reflects credit on your organization and I am grateful to him also -- to whom I am sending a copy of this letter -- for sending me the book.

With the compliments of the Season, I am

REC-58

Sincerely

E. F. VICKERS

EFV:M

cc  
Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

DEC 21 1959

ack 12-29-59  
nnc

3 auto 12-28-59  
1/4

8/1/60

4  
11) 62-101127-1391  
January 4, 1960

REC-48

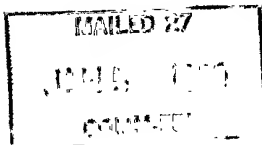
X  
Mr. [REDACTED]  
559 Longfellow Avenue  
Deerfield, Illinois

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Your letter of December 21, 1959, with enclosure,  
has been received, and your kind remarks concerning my book,  
"Masters of Deceit," are appreciated. Thank you for making  
your views available to me.

Sincerely yours,



JAN 4 3 33 PM '60  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

9  
NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing identifiable with the correspondent.  
It is to be noted that he does not want to be accused of McCarthyism  
and he also mentions the integration problem in Deerfield, Illinois.  
In view of these remarks it is felt a perfunctory reply is in order.  
A self-addressed, stamped envelope was enclosed by [REDACTED] and is  
being utilized in reply.

b6  
b7C

NHC:td/hmm  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

550 Longfellow Ave.  
Deerfield, Illinois  
Dec. 21, 1959

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director- FBI  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover;

I have just finished reading your wonderful book entitled "Masters Of Deceit" and I would like you to know how very much I enjoyed it. In fact it is very comforting for a citizen of this great country to know that there are men like you working so hard to keep us free. For some time now I have thought that this country would be far better equipped to fight the deceits of Communism if its top leaders were truly fearless and outspoken men. I include with you as true Americans other men such as Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Adm. Hyman Rickover. What a wonderful committee the three of you would make.

In addition to offering you my congratulations, there is another motive in my writing you. You may notice that I live in Deerfield, Illinois which is now in the midst of a housing integration battle that has all the earmarks of another possible Little Rock situation. Already minor damage has occurred to the houses in addition to a cross of the Ku Klux Klan type left burning in the yard of a pro-integrationist. It is a cinch that some pretty strong emotions are being generated in this town mostly because a Jewish white contractor is experimenting in an all-white community.

I do not want to be accused of McCarthyism but I have been concerned about the possibility of this activity being a front organization or the chance that Communist goons might be sent in to agitate a situation in which the builder might have very honest intentions. Certainly this is a ready-made opportunity for this country to look pretty bad in the eyes of the other races of the world. And of course that could be the most important result of the whole affair.

I have no facts to report but there have been spoken allegations at various meetings and rumors of past Communist affiliations involved in some of the members of the contractors Board of Directors. I can only say that the liberal minded citizen sure does not know what or who to believe. And I can also see what you meant when you wrote that well-meaning human beings can become dupes concerning a proper and humanistic cause.

You may be interested in knowing the stand I personally take in the situation. I feel that integration should and will be a necessary part of the democratic way of life. I do feel however that no one can force another to display the emotion of love for his fellow human being without due process of early education towards racial tolerance. I am strongly in favor of the teaching, at the grade school level, of the metaphysical philosophy of living. I have not taken an active part in either of the local opposing factions. I am afraid that I am one of those detestable fence-straddling characters who feels that the possible way out for myself is in taking a one-way trip to the Moon. But I imagine I am over age for such a trip so I intend to stick it out here in Deerfield.

If you can find the time I would appreciate hearing from you regarding the possible Red front activity in Deerfield or any other pertinent thoughts you may have. Again congratulations on your fine book and thank you for taking the time to read this letter. With every good wish for your continued success, I am

Sincerely yours,

[Redacted Signature]

b6  
b7c

EX-102

REC-48

REC.

62-104277-1391  
1-6-60

EXP. PROC.  
DEC 24 1959



HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, INC. • Publishers

383 MADISON AVENUE . . . NEW YORK

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

GENERAL BOOKS  
TEXTBOOKS  
MAGAZINES

*File pmg*

December 11, 1959

*85 [signature]*

Mr. Clyde Tolson  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Recreation Association  
Washington, D.C.

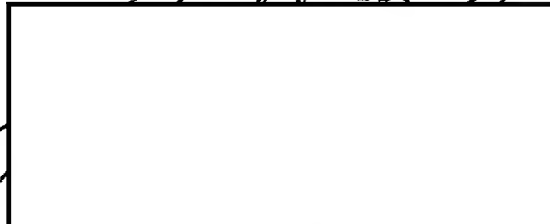
Dear Mr. Tolson:

Your letter of December 8th addressed to  
Mr. Rigg has been referred to the undersigned.

Thank you for your check to cover your invoice  
dated December 8th. This we are routing  
through the accounting department immediately.

Two Hundred copies of MASTERS OF DECEIT are  
being shipped to you on our agreed basis.

Sincerely yours.



b6  
b7c

FC:ef

CC: Mr. Rigg  
Mr. Rockwell

62 JAN 11 1960 / 178

REC-60

EX 109

*E*  
62-104277-1392

18 JAN 5 1960

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Mr. Gandy	_____

b6  
b7C

A/2c [redacted]  
AF 12498546 - 28th. Comm. [redacted]  
Box 168, Mitchel A.F.B.  
Hempstead, Long Island, New York

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
c/o Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington D.C.

21 December 1959

Dear Sir ;

This letter is in reference to a book recently published and supposedly written and/or indorsed by yourself. The name of the book as you probably have guessed by now is "MASTERS OF DECEIT". After looking thru this book it seems either yourself or the book come to almost a complete disagreement with the conclusions I've drawn on certain organizations and attitudes from reading "THE AMERICAN MERCURY MAGAZINE". Some of the organizations I have in mind are "THE ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE", THE N A A C P and others. As far as what you said in the book on Anti-Semitism, I draw the conclusion that anyone who criticizes Zionism is Communist or at least will be supporting the Communist line, the same goes for criticizing of the later mentioned organizations. By making these statements in the book you are leading me to the conclusion that my favorite magazine "THE AMERICAN MERCURY" is giving the American people a Communist line under the guise of Americanism, which I doubt very much.

I Sir do not believe that you wrote the book or agree with its entire contents. What I would like to know Sir, is, did you write the book in your capacity as head of the F.B.I. or as an individual ? Do you agree with and condone all the statements and conclusions this book arrives at ?

I of course realize that I'm a nobody, but I am an American citizen sincerely interested in stopping Communism both here and in the World. I'm sure we both agree that one of the best weapons a people can have against the cancer of Communism is thorough knowledge of its makeup and ways of achieving its goals. I believe that "THE AMERICAN MERCURY" is waging a very effective war against Communism among its relatively small amount of readers.

Your comments on certain issues in the book "MASTERS OF DECEIT" conflicts greatly with "THE AMERICAN MERCURY". I can only conclude from reading the two that one is wrong and the other right. If your right then I've been taken in by a very clever gimmick, if the Mercury's right then again I've been taken in by a very clever gimmick, if you know what I mean.

EXP. PROC.

DEC 23 1959

7

62-104277-1393

b6  
b7C

REC-19

4 JAN 6 1960

CRIM

62-12-25-5  
62 JAN 11 1960 178

EX 100


Page 2

So you can see Sir, I'm a very confused young Airman. I sincerely wish you would sincerely answer this letter, at least on the question of your part in the later mentioned book.



b6  
b7C

Please address any reply to this letter to :

A/2C  b6  
AF 12498546 - 28th. Comm. Sq. b7C  
Mitchel A.F.B. Box 168  
Hempstead, Long Island, New York



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*

DATE: December 29, 1959

FROM : M. A. Jones *M. A. Jones*SUBJECT: CRITICISM OF "MASTERS OF DECEIT"  
BY AIRMAN SECOND CLASS[REDACTED]  
U. S. AIR FORCEb6  
b7C

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

BACKGROUND:

By letter dated 12-21-59, captioned individual, who is assigned to Mitchel Air Force Base, Hempstead, Long Island, New York, challenged the Director's authorship of "Masters of Deceit." [REDACTED] stated that after reading the book, he has come to a complete disagreement with conclusions drawn from reading "The American Mercury Magazine" concerning organizations such as The National Association for Advancement of Colored People and The Anti-Defamation League. Concerning the Director's comments on anti-Semitism, [REDACTED] concludes "that anyone who criticizes Zionism is Communist."

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] further stated:

"I Sir do not beleive that you wrote the book or agree with its entire contents. What I would like to know Sir, is, did you write the book in your capacity as head of the F.B.I. or as an individual? Do you agree with and condone all the statements and conclusions this book arrives at?"

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] states he is interested in "stopping Communism." He believes "The American Mercury" is waging effective war against communism, but concludes from reading this magazine and "Masters of Deceit" that one is right and the other wrong. He states he is "a very confused young Airman" and requests a sincere reply to his letter, "at least on the question of your part in the....book."

b6  
b7CINFORMATION IN BUFILES RE YEZUITA:

There is no information in Bufiles identifiable with [REDACTED]

REC-19

62-104277-1394

4 JAN 6 1960

b6  
b7C

BS:sfc

(4)

(continued next page)

53 JAN 8 1960

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

OBSERVATIONS:

[ ] has, in effect, questioned the integrity of the Director by challenging his authorship of "Masters of Deceit." The letter is a paradox. First, [ ] states he does not believe the Director wrote the book. Then, he asks if the Director wrote the book as head of the FBI or as an individual. "The American Mercury" magazine is known as an anti-Semitic publication. b6 b7C

The Director should not favor a letter of this type with a reply. Obviously, it is unnecessary for the Director to authenticate his book for [ ] benefit. And, of course, we would not want to engage in any comparison of views concerning anti-Semitism as set forth in "Masters of Deceit" and "The American Mercury."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Director not reply to [ ] letter. b6 b7C

*Keene*  
12/30

*R*

*DAW*

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Butte

SUBJECT: "MASTERS OF DECEIT"

DATE: 12/31/59

Attention: CRIME RECORDS

For the Bureau's information, Mr. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Butte Public High School,  
Butte, Montana, advised that one of his advanced classes had  
just completed reviewing the book "Masters of Deceit."

b6  
b7C

②-Bureau  
1-Butte

HGM:iap  
(3)

REC- 73

EX- 137

62-104277-1395  
4 JAN 7 1960178  
68 JAN 12 1960

CRIME RECORDS

REC- 60

62-104277-1396

January 7, 1960

Mrs. [redacted]  
203 North Summit Avenue  
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

b6  
b7C

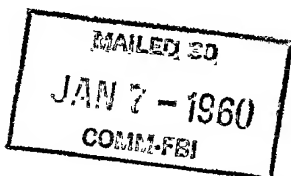
Dear Mrs. [redacted]

Your letter of December 29, 1959, has been received, and your interest in planning a review of my book, "Masters of Deceit," is indeed appreciated. In response to your request for information concerning the current status of the communist threat facing our Nation, I am pleased to enclose one of my recent articles on this topic which I hope will be of value to you. I am also taking the liberty of returning the stamped, self-addressed envelope you considerately furnished.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (2)

Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality



b6  
b7C

NOTE: Bufiles contain no information identifiable with Mrs. [redacted]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_

RFL:jcs/mhd

(3)

JAN 14 1960

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

TRUE COPY

MRS. [REDACTED]

\* 203 NORTH SUMMIT AVE. \* SIOUX FALLS, SO. DAK.

My dear Mr. Hoover,

I am planning to review your book, Masters of Deceit, for a PEO group to which I belong, and also a church group.

Since it was published in 1958 I would like to know if the information is still pertinent - that is - is the goal of the Communist's the same, and is there still subversive activity.

It seems to me that Khrushchev's moments of apparent friendliness on his summer visit to the United States have led people to think that he can't be what we have believed him to be.

You are a very busy man, and I'm doubtless imposing on you, but never theless,

Very Sincerely,

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Dec. 29, 1959

12/30/59  
a 1-7-60  
2-11-60  
True Copy 1-7-60

J-RM

I am planning to present your book, Masters of Deceit, for a PEO group to which I belong, and also a church group.

Since it was published in 1958  
I would like to know if the infor-  
mation is still pertinent - that is - is  
the goal of the Communist's the same,  
and is there still subversive  
activity.

It seems to me that Khrushchev's moments of apparent friendliness on his summer visit to the United States.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

States have led people to think  
that he can't be what we have  
believed him to be.

You are a very busy man, and  
I'm doubtless imposing on you, but  
nevertheless,

Very Sincerely,



b6  
b7C

Dec 27, 1959

JAN 4 12 57 PM '60

RECEIVED

JAN 4 12 57 PM '60

*[Handwritten signature]*

W

REC- 60

62-104277-1396

12 JAN 8 1960

EX-117

\_\_\_\_\_



REC 26 62 - 104 277-1397

EX-139

January 4, 1960

Miss [redacted]  
3144 Revere  
Jackson, Mississippi

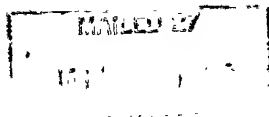
b6  
b7C

Dear Miss [redacted]

I received the copy of "Masters of Deceit," and I appreciate your kind note regarding the book. It is very gratifying to know that you considered it inspiring, and you were very thoughtful to furnish me your comments and observations, as well as the book for a Christmas gift.

Please accept my best wishes for a happy and prosperous 1960.

Sincerely yours,



NOTE: Bufiles reflect no identifiable information on Miss [redacted]

b6  
b7C

WLD:der  
(3)

62 JAN 13 1960  
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

JAN 4 12 00 PM '60  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

JAN 4 11 06 AM '60  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

12-22-59

My dear Mr. Hoover

I have enjoyed every minute of  
your inspired book.

As a Christmas gift to you, I offer  
one person's reading of your book.

Sincerely,

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

*[Handwritten: Tolson]*  
Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

COPY:hbb

[Redacted Address]

3144 Revere  
Jackson  
Miss

b6  
b7C

[Redacted Address]

3144 Revere  
Jackson  
Miss

*[Handwritten: 1-4-60]*  
*[Handwritten: 1-4-60]*  
*[Handwritten: 1-4-60]*

*[Handwritten: file 8-11-60]*  
*[Handwritten: Ho]*

ENCLOSURE

EX-139

REC-26

62-104277-1397

18 JAN 11 1960

ENCLOSURE

104277-1397



A  
CARDINAL  
GIANT

GC-39

# J. EDGAR HOOVER

*What the communist  
bosses are doing  
now to bring America  
to its knees*



# MASTERS OF DECEIT

THE  
COMPLETE  
BOOK

Index

My dear Mr Hoover 12-22-59  
I have enjoyed every  
minute of your inspired  
book.

As a Christmas gift  
to you, I offer one persons  
reading of your book.

Sincerely



*Are there paper-bound books you want*  
but cannot find at your retail stores? You can get any  
title in print in these famous series, **POCKET BOOKS**,  
**CARDINAL EDITIONS**, **POCKET LIBRARY** and  
**PERMABOOKS**, by ordering from Mail Service Depart-  
ment, Pocket Books, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20, N.Y.  
Enclose retail price plus 5c per book for mailing costs.

**FREE CATALOGUE SENT ON REQUEST**

**J. EDGAR HOOVER**

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

In my Bible, I found  
Psalm 120:2-4

It is only seven verses long

**MASTERS OF DECEIT**

The Story of Communism in America  
and How to Fight It

b6  
b7c



**POCKET BOOKS, INC. • NEW YORK**

In this brief, which was submitted to the Attorney General, I concluded:

These doctrines threaten the happiness of the community, the safety of every individual, and the continuance of every home and fireside. They would destroy the peace of the country and thrust it into a condition of anarchy and lawlessness and immorality that passes imagination.

Today, as I write these words, my conclusions of 1919 remain the same. Communism is the major menace of our time. Today, it threatens the very existence of our Western civilization.

In November, 1917, the Bolsheviks seized control in Russia, gaining state power for the first time. That breach has today widened into a vast communist empire. The attack is still being pressed. International communism will never rest until the whole world, including the United States, is under the hammer and sickle. This is what has happened to the Russian people, now held in bondage, who would be free if they could. (I wish to distinguish here and elsewhere in this book between these unfortunate millions and the small clique of communist rulers of Soviet Russia.)

Communism is more than an economic, political, social, or philosophical doctrine. It is a way of life; a false, materialistic "religion." It would strip man of his belief in God, his heritage of freedom, his trust in love, justice, and mercy. Under communism, all would become, as so many already have, twentieth-century slaves.

Ever since 1917, I have observed the rise of international communism with great concern, particularly communist efforts to infiltrate and infect our American way of life. The Communist Party, USA, started in 1919 as a small, disorganized group of fanatics. Today, it is a dedicated, conspiratorial group operating under modern conditions as an arm of revolution. There is no doubt that America is now the prime target of international communism.

Obviously, this book does not pretend to disclose a body of material known exclusively to the FBI. What it does express is the hope that all of us may develop a shared body of rudimentary knowledge about communism: a body of knowledge that we *dare not* be without. It attempts, in almost primer form, to set down certain fundamentals of the day-to-day operations of the Communist Party, USA: how a communist meeting is conducted; how a top Party official lives; what goes on in the underground; how discipline is enforced; how Party members collect money, attend indoctrination schools, hand out propaganda leaflets. Party members are shown organizing agitation campaigns, infiltrating noncommunist organizations, and manipulating communist fronts. The best way to appreciate the nature and objectives of an enemy is to observe him in action.

The Communist Party, never forget, is a state within a state. It has its own system of "courts," legislative assemblies, schools, and press. It enforces its own laws, has its own standards of conduct, and offers its own road to Utopia. The Party member may physically reside in the United States, but he "lives" in a communist "world."

The Party, moreover, serves as a "transmission belt" whereby the Soviet mentality is being imposed, both directly and indirectly, on thousands of Americans. The Party's objective is to produce a "politically mature" comrade—"communist man"—who will work ceaselessly for the revolution that would make our United States part of the Soviet system.

I have deep faith in the American people and in our American way of life. But I know what communism could do to us. Not because it is stronger than we are; it is not. Not because it has something better to offer; it has not. But we may not learn until it is too late to recognize who the communists are, what they are doing, and what we ourselves, therefore, must do to defeat them.

It is my sincere hope that members of the Communist Party will take the time to read this book—to see how, right before their eyes, the Party is deceiving them. As we know, many members, once awakened to the true nature of com-

MANY AMERICANS have not stopped to realize what a "Soviet America" would mean. The communists, however, have no doubts. Their blueprints are already made. So, at the very outset, let us look at their dream and see what it would mean to you and me and all the people we know.

In June, 1957, Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party boss, was interviewed before a nation-wide American television audience. With calm assurance he stated:

... I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism. And please do not be afraid of that. Your grandchildren will ... not understand how their grandparents did not understand the progressive nature of a socialist society.

William Z. Foster, former National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States (now Chairman Emeritus of the Party's National Committee), also predicted that this nation will one day become communist when he stated in 1949, in dedicating his book, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*:

To My Great-Grandson Joseph Manley Kolko Who Will Live in a Communist United States.

These words of Russia's top Party boss and one of the highest-ranking communists in the United States reveal the nature of the enemy we face. To make the United States a

#### 4 Who Is Your Enemy?

communist nation is the ambition of every Party member, regardless of position or rank. He works constantly to make this dream a reality, to steal your rights, liberties, and property. Even though he lives in the United States, he is a supporter of a foreign power, espousing an alien line of thought. He is a conspirator against his country.

The communist is thinking in terms of *now*, in your lifetime. Remember that within four decades communism, as a state power, has spread through roughly 40 per cent of the world's population and 25 per cent of the earth's surface. Some years ago communists were complaining that their "fatherland," Soviet Russia, was encircled, a communist island in a "capitalist" sea. Today the situation is changed. The world communist movement is on the march, into Germany, the Balkans, the Middle East, stretching across the plains of Asia into China, Korea, and Indochina. Communists have never won over an entire country by a free election and have never hesitated to shed blood if this would best serve their purposes. Moreover, in noncommunist countries thousands of Party members are working for Moscow. Communists firmly believe they are destined to conquer the world.

This belief is held in the United States too. A disciplined Party of hard-core fanatical members is now at work, with their fellow travelers, sympathizers, opportunists, and dupes. Communists in our country, though small in numbers, do not feel lonely. They have faith in the "big Red brother" who will come to their help. William Z. Foster's hope, a Red America, is today inspiring thousands of Party members and sympathizers to determined effort. They want to add America to Soviet Russia's list of conquests.

In recent years there has been a tendency to discount the menace of domestic communists solely because of a decline in Party membership. In fact, some have gone so far as to say, "... the party ... is almost over." Let's examine that statement:

In 1922, when Communist Party membership reached 12,400, William Z. Foster said, "... we no longer measure

#### Who Is Your Enemy? 5

the importance of revolutionary organizations by size. In some places where there are only one or two men, more results are obtained than where they have larger organizations. ...

This has been the communist line down through the years. Foster in 1951 stated, "Communist strength ... cannot be measured even approximately by statistics. ... The Communist parties' strength runs far beyond all formal measurements. ..."

The Party's membership in this country reached a low in 1930 when it had 7500 members, and a peak of 80,000 in 1944; its membership at five-year intervals since 1930 has been as follows: 1935—30,000; 1940—55,000 (a drop of 15,000 from 1939); 1945—64,600 (a drop of 15,400 from 1944); 1950—43,200; 1955—22,600; and by the summer of 1957 membership had further declined. However, over the years it has been estimated by the communist leaders themselves that for every Party member ten others are ready, willing, and able to do the Party's work.

Fluctuations in the American Party parallel those in foreign countries. The record clearly establishes that Communist Parties have the power of swift and solid growth when the opportunity arises. The following figures reflect how Party membership can dwindle and then spurt:

In Italy, Party membership went from 6000 in 1943 to 2,500,000 in 1951; in France, from 20,000 in 1929 to 400,000 in 1956; in Syria, from 250 in 1931 to 10,000 in 1956; in Brazil, from 25,000 in late 1947 to 100,000 in 1956; and in Indonesia, from 30,000 in 1953 to 500,000 in 1956.

*When the Communist Party was at its peak in the United States it was stronger in numbers than the Soviet Party was at the time it seized power in Russia.*

The size of the Party in the various Soviet satellites at the time each came under Soviet control discloses how a well-organized band of revolutionaries can impose its rule over the majority population:



6 *Who Is Your Enemy?*

	Date of Communist Take-over	CP Membership on That Date	Population on That Date
BULGARIA	September, 1945	20,000	7,020,000
ROUMANIA	March, 1945	800,000	16,409,000
POLAND	January, 1949	1,000,000	25,225,000
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	May, 1948	1,329,000	12,338,000
HUNGARY	August, 1947	750,000	9,383,000
ALBANIA	December, 1945	12,000	1,120,000
YUGOSLAVIA	Mid-1945	141,000	14,500,000

Under communism, a tiny minority, perhaps ten to twenty men, would rule the United States. An open dictatorship called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would be established. (For a definition of "dictatorship of the proletariat," see the Glossary, page 323.) Communists, in all their teachings, make this point clear. The capital city, as one communist leader pointed out, would be moved from Washington, D.C., to a large industrial center, probably Chicago. National as well as state and local governments would be eliminated. "Soviets" (meaning councils) would be formed throughout the nation. These would consist of local Communist Party henchmen who would depose and probably liquidate your mayor, chief of police, clergymen, and leading citizens.

The Constitution, and all our laws, would be abolished. If you owned productive property you would be arrested as an "exploiter," hauled before a revolutionary court, and sentenced to a concentration camp—that is, if you convinced the "judge" you were worth saving at all. All property used in production would be confiscated, thus leading ultimately to total communization, meaning state ownership. This confiscation would include your home, business, bank deposits, and related personal possessions. These would "belong to everybody." You have no "right" to own them under the communist scheme.

The revolution would affect every man, woman, and child in America. Communists do not propose to remodel our government or retain any part of it. They would tear it to the

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ground, destroy all opposition, and then create a new government, an American province in the Soviet world empire. Their recipe for action? The 1917 Soviet revolution, tailored to modern conditions. The communists themselves have made the claim:

The principles upon which a Soviet America would be organized would be the same, in every respect, as those which guided the Soviet Union.

William Z. Foster, long-time head of the communist movement in our country, has boasted that the communist revolution, after the actual seizure of power, would "develop even more swiftly" than the Russian.

All industry would be nationalized and farms taken away from their owners. A small businessman is just as guilty as a large businessman; both must be liquidated. Rents, profits, and insurance would be abolished. Countless occupations, termed by the communists as "useless and parasitic," would be ended. Here is a part of their list: wholesalers, jobbers, real estate men and stockbrokers, advertising specialists, traveling salesmen, lawyers, "whole rafts of government bureaucrats, police, clericals, and sundry capitalist quacks, fakers, and grafters." The communists have a special disdain for lawyers. Perhaps it is because there will be no need for lawyers when there are no rights to defend. At any rate, Foster has said, "The pest of lawyers will be abolished."

Action would be drastic, immediate, and without appeal. An armed "Red Guard" would enforce the orders of Party henchmen. Hotels, country clubs, and swimming pools would be used for the benefit of "workers," meaning, in most cases, Party bosses. The workingman in the mines, factories, and mills would be told to work certain hours for certain wages. Labor unions, as we know them, would be obliterated. All such organizations would be owned and operated by the communist government, and no laborer would be permitted to organize a union or to strike against his "government."

The press would be muzzled, free speech forbidden, and

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complete conformity demanded. If you expressed an opinion contrary to the Party line, you should have known better and your "disappearance" would serve as a lesson for others. Fear becomes an enforcement technique. Movies, radio, and television would be taken over by the government as agencies for government propaganda. Churches would probably not be closed immediately, but they would be heavily taxed, their property seized by the state, and religious schools liquidated. Clergymen would be required to accept the Party line. "God does not exist. Why worship Him?" say the communists. Children would be placed in nurseries and special indoctrination schools. Women, boast the communists, would be relieved of housework. How? Huge factory and apartment-house kitchens would be set up, so that women would be "free" to work in factories and mines along with the men.

This picture of a communist America is not overdrawn. Here are the words of William Z. Foster:

Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist party functioning alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, rotary clubs, American Legion, Y.M.C.A. and such fraternal orders as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc.

Under this schedule many Americans are eligible for liquidation not once but several times, depending on their present freely chosen affiliations and social interests.

Communism is many things: an economic system, a philosophy, a political creed, a psychological conditioning, an educational indoctrination, a directed way of life. Communists want to control everything: where you live, where you work, what you are paid, what you think, what streetcars you ride (or whether you walk), how your children are educated, what you may not and must read and write. The most minute details, even the time your alarm clock goes off in the morning

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or the amount of cream in your coffee, are subjects for state supervision. They want to make a "communist man," a mechanical puppet, whom they can train to do as the Party desires. This is the ultimate, and tragic, aim of communism.

These statements are confirmed, day after day, by documented reports from areas where communists have already taken over: Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Red China, and other areas.

When you read such reports, do not think of them as something happening in a far-off land. Remember, always, that "it could happen here" and that there are thousands of people in this country now working in secret to make it happen here.

But also, thank God, there are millions of Americans who oppose them. If we open our eyes, inform ourselves, and work together, we can keep our country free.

life, tremendous. But he did not make friends easily, perhaps because of self-pride. He made arrogant remarks and wrote satirical verse. He was a "smart" young man, but already vain, bitter, and rebellious.

Strangely, his heart held an inner love for a home-town girl, Jenny von Westphalen, a devotion to remain bright despite the utter squalor, poverty, and despair that lay ahead. Jenny, four years older than Karl, was the daughter of a government official in Trier. She was beautiful, charming, and of a socially high rank, much higher than that of the Marx family. She, too, was desperately in love, but she feared to tell her parents. What would they think—the daughter of Privy Councillor Ludwig von Westphalen marrying Karl Marx?

Young Karl was obsessed. He wrote feverish love letters and poetry. "... a new world has opened for me," he wrote his father in 1837, "the world of love... art is not as beautiful as Jenny."

The time for marriage, however, was still distant. Karl was away at school. Then, after graduation, he did not have a job and did not seem to care to find one—another lifelong trait. He preferred to dabble in atheism, socialism, and polemics. After seven long years Jenny was still waiting, but finally, on June 12, 1843, they were married.

Marx had hoped to teach but drifted into journalism. He wrote acidly, pouring ridicule on everything and everybody with whom he disagreed. Strongly influenced by the teachings of Ludwig Feuerbach, a German philosopher who preached materialism, Marx had become an atheist and called for war against religion, a war that was to become the cornerstone of communist philosophy. In 1842 he became editor of a new left-wing paper, the Cologne *Rheinische Zeitung*, and immediately launched into bitter tirades against the Prussian government. As expected, the authorities took action, the paper was suppressed, and Marx, a short time later, went to France. Finally, in 1849, with his family, he went to England, where he was destined to remain until his death in 1883.

Marx was a man with few friends. But one friend, Friedrich Engels, a fellow German whom he first met in 1842, was to

become his intellectual comrade, his financial support, his faithful champion. Engels, a vivid contrast to the morose and crotchety Marx, was gay, mannerly, from a wealthy family, and interested in having a good time. He too was an atheist and a revolutionary, a fact that deeply offended his father, a leading textile manufacturer and churchman. He would provide money for school, the elder Engels said, but none for revolutionary activities. Conflict was inevitable. "If it were not for my mother... whom I really love," young Engels wrote, "it would never occur to me to make even the smallest concession to my fanatical and despotic father."

Marx and Engels were close friends for some forty years. Engels, most appropriately, can be called the "collaborator" of Marx. He had an encyclopedic memory and his far-flung interests and knowledge of industrial techniques supplied Marx with important information. He also wrote independently and, in some instances, under Marx's name. (For a list of writings by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, see pages 333-337.) Together they conceived and formulated the doctrine of communism. They were the parents of "scientific socialism."

Engels spent much of his time in Manchester, England, tending to his father's business, while Marx lived in London. Engels was tall and thin, blue-eyed, two years younger than Marx, and a lover of horses and women. He lived for years with one girl without marriage and then, upon her death, with her sister. He finally consented to marry the latter on her deathbed.

Marx, in contrast, lived in squalor. He was often sick; he suffered from boils, headaches, and rheumatism. Jenny's health began to give way. Her seventh child was born dead. She became wretchedly nervous, irritable, and upset. "Daily, my wife tells me she wishes she were lying in the grave with the children," Marx wrote in 1862. "And truly I cannot blame her..."

Marx did not have a regular job but depended on pittances, especially from Engels. He lived from pawnshop to pawnshop. It is a bitter irony of history, indeed, that the founder of

communism should be literally kept alive by a wealthy industrialist, and that a "capitalist's" son, turned communist, should become the second "father" of this revolutionary movement.

The great classics of communism, such as *Das Kapital* (*Capital*), were "hacked out" amid the most trying conditions. For a period the Marx family lived in two furnished rooms on Dean Street, Soho (London). Listen to this description translated from an article by Gustav Mayer:

In private life Marx is a highly disorderly, cynical person . . . Washing himself, combing his hair, changing his underwear and shirts are a rarity with him . . . He is often lazy for days, but if he has a great deal of work, he works day and night with untiring endurance. Very often he stays up the entire night and then lies down on the couch fully dressed at noon and sleeps through until evening, undisturbed by the hustle and bustle of family life . . . The room overlooking the street is the parlor and the bedroom is to the rear. In the entire apartment there is not a single piece of clean and good furniture. Everything is broken, tattered and ragged; everything is covered with finger-thick dust, everywhere there is the greatest disorder. In the center of the parlor stands a large table covered by an overhanging oilcloth. It is cluttered with his manuscripts, books, newspapers, the children's toys, scraps of cloth from his wife's sewing as well as some tea-cups with chipped rims, dirty spoons, knives, forks, a lamp, an inkwell, drinking glasses, a Dutch claypipe, and ashes. In short, all this conglomeration is piled high and on one table. A junk-shop would have to cede honors to this extraordinary ensemble. When stepping into Marx's room the coal and tobacco smog makes one grope around the room as in a cave until one's eyes gradually develop a tolerance to these fumes and one is able to make out, as if in a fog, a few objects in the room. Everything is dirty; everything is full of dust. As for sitting down, that is a really dangerous matter. Here is a chair with only three legs; over there the children are playing at cooking on another chair which happens to be still unbroken. Sure enough, that is the one which is offered to the visitor, but without any effort to clean off the food. You sit down at the

risk of ruining a pair of trousers . . . Such is a faithful picture of the family life of the Communist chief, Marx. . . .

Money was always short. Little Franziska died before her first birthday. There was no money for the funeral. A pittance was obtained from a neighbor which, as Jenny says, ". . . paid for the small coffin in which my poor child now sleeps in peace." Marx sometimes couldn't go out of the house: his overcoats were pawned. His wife was sick, but he couldn't call a doctor. There was no money for medicine. "For a week or more I have kept my family alive feeding them bread and potatoes, and it is questionable whether or not I will be able to scare any up today." Another time he complained, ". . . the children are without clothes or shoes in which they can leave the house."

But Marx was stubborn. He kept plugging away, writing, reading, denouncing "capitalist" poverty, and letting his family starve. No wonder a remark, attributed to his mother, was made that instead of writing about capital it would have been better if Karl had made some. The main source of help was money from Engels, from a relative, or from writings. The "only piece of good news we have," Marx wrote to Engels on February 27, 1852, "is from my ministerial sister-in-law [wife of the Minister of Westphalia], namely, the news about the illness of my wife's indestructible uncle. If the brute dies now, I will be out of this mess." Marx, in scornfully referring to his wife's uncle as "indestructible," meant the fellow simply would not die. On March 2, 1852, Engels replied, "My congratulations on the news of the old . . . inheritance-obstructor's illness and I hope that the catastrophe will finally take place."

If the mind of Marx was perverted and biased, it was at the same time sharp and keen. He was a deep student of history, philosophy, and economics. Sitting in his dingy apartment or in the British Museum, this German-born social theorist surveyed the world. In his arrogant pride he thought he could recast it on his own terms; through his writings and his revolutionary organizations he undertook to do so.

"The Moor," as his children called him because of his coal-

Today Lenin's prestige has been inflated even more as a result of the "downgrading" of Stalin. He is looked upon as the "ideal" communist leader and, in the words of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, "the great founder of our party and the Soviet State."

Lenin was born April 22, 1870, in Simbirsk, now Ulyanovsk (changed after Lenin's death in 1924), a town on the Volga River, deep in Russia. His father was a school inspector and a devout member of the Russian Orthodox Church. Vladimir, one of six children, was a model student. He had a great capacity for concentration and could quickly answer his father's questions about schoolwork.

Youth, however, was short-lived; Lenin soon was on the way to becoming a "revolutionary." It is interesting and important to note here, as with Marx and Engels, that atheism was the first step toward communism. At the age of sixteen, as he later said, Lenin ceased to believe in God. It is reported that he tore the cross from his neck, threw this sacred relic to the ground, and spat upon it.

Soon after, in 1887, when Lenin was seventeen, Alexander Ulyanov, his elder brother and boyhood hero, was hanged in the courtyard of Schlüsselburg Fortress in Saint Petersburg, later known as Petrograd and Leningrad, along with four companions, charged with conspiracy to assassinate the Czar of Russia. Alexander was a member of People's Will, a revolutionary organization. This event deeply affected young Lenin.

In the fall of 1887 Vladimir entered Kazan University and soon became involved in student disorders. He was arrested and lived for a while under police surveillance. A short time later, at the age of eighteen, he started reading Karl Marx and soon was expounding Marxist principles to his sister Anna and organizing Marxist discussion groups. In 1891, in Saint Petersburg, he passed his law examination with honors and was admitted to the bar. Although young in years, he was "old" in disposition. At the age of twenty-four, a companion remarked, Lenin already had a tired-looking face. His head was entirely bald, except for fringes of hair at the temples. "The most striking thing about him," went another description, "was his

large head, with its large white forehead. His rather small eyes seemed perpetually narrowed, his glance was serious. . . ."

Within a few short years Lenin was to dominate the Russian Marxist movement. This man who loved to play with children, who, after he became dictator of all Russia, occasionally liked to sleep in a hayloft rather than in a bed, was utterly cynical and ruthless. In one instance an associate in Stockholm complained that couriers were not delivering newspapers on schedule. "Please send me their names," Lenin curtly ordered. "These saboteurs shall be shot."

Another time a companion complained about his work. Shut up, were Lenin's orders. "I will turn you over to the party court; we will shoot you." Without tenderness, with not a muscle responsive to mercy, he had one goal—revolution. For twenty years, whether as an exile in Siberia or as a wandering conspirator in Europe, he kept working, dreaming, and thinking about revolution. Guided by his "evil genius," he never deviated from that goal.

Russia, by the 1880's, was seething with discontent. A strong revolutionary movement, dating from the 1820's, was in rebellion against the despotic Czarist regime. Many of the suggested revolutionary programs were impractical. Some demanded greater voice for the peasants or industrial workers; some espoused violent revolution; others, democratic reform. But on one point they all agreed: there must be a change. The more radical groups believed in political terrorism. Their violent escapades, however, such as assassinations, led only to greater oppression.

Marxist writings had early found their way into Russia. The first language into which Marx's *Das Kapital* (originally written in German) had been translated was Russian. Many revolutionaries were attracted by these new communist ideas. In 1883 a Marxist group was founded. Ten years later, when Lenin joined an underground group in Saint Petersburg, the movement was strong.

These early Russian Marxists, however, were deeply divided. They were babblers of theory, not apostles of action. Lenin immediately undertook to change the situation. But in

December, 1895, he was arrested, imprisoned, and later exiled to Siberia.

In 1900 he was released and fled from Russia, more ardent than ever for revolution. With fiendish devotion and intensity he set about the task of creating a revolutionary organization that could seize power in Russia.

For most of the time after 1900 Lenin and his wife, Nadezhda, lived as exiles in Western Europe, going from city to city, often under aliases. Nadezhda in writing about Lenin gave a vivid account of their life in cheap boardinghouses. In Switzerland, on one occasion, they stayed in a room where the windows could be opened only at night because of the "intolerable stench" of a nearby sausage factory. Another time they took their meals at a house where, in the words of Lenin's wife, "the very 'lower depths' of Zurich" congregated.

Lenin was happiest when he could talk revolution. Nadezhda was constantly on guard to protect his health. Many times Lenin, engrossed in revolutionary activities, would work himself into a highly nervous state. One time, Nadezhda writes, he "came home after a heated debate . . . I could hardly recognize him, his face was so drawn and he could barely speak." She encouraged him to take a vacation. In London, Lenin "developed a nervous illness called 'holy fire.'" Nadezhda, after consulting a medical student, painted him with iodine. She, however, couldn't prevent her husband, lost in thought while pedaling a bicycle, from running into the back of a tram and "very nearly" knocking out an eye.

Borrowing from the autocratic character of Marx himself, Lenin made Marxism a highly disciplined, organized, and ruthless creed. How can revolution be achieved? Not by democratic reforms, ballots, or good will but by naked, bloody violence. The sword is the weapon. Everything must be dedicated to this aim: one's time, talents, one's very life. Revolutions do not just happen. They are made.

Lenin conceived of the Party as a vehicle of revolution. Marx, in his philosophical abstractions, had never thought out the day-to-day composition of the Party. Lenin did. The Party must be a small, tightly controlled, deeply loyal group.

Fanaticism, not members, was the key. Members must live, eat, breathe, and dream revolution. They must lie, cheat, and murder if the Party was to be served. Discipline must be rigid. No deviations could be permitted. If an individual falters, he must be ousted. Revolutions cannot be won by clean hands or in white shirts; only by blood, sweat, and the burning torch. These ideas were all inherent in Marxist thought, but they waited for Lenin to translate them into organized action.

In 1903 the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (which was the Russian Marxist Party) met in convention in Brussels. The proceedings were later transferred to London, after Belgian authorities had warned several of the delegates to leave the city. One session of the congress was routed by an army of vermin.

A dispute arose. Should Party membership be restricted or open to anybody? Lenin fought for restricted membership and won. His group was called the Bolsheviks (the majority); the losers became the Mensheviks (minority). The Party, Lenin said, must be composed only of trained revolutionaries. To allow anybody, curiosity seekers, the halfhearted, weaklings, to join would reduce the Party's discipline, striking power, and fanaticism. The masses couldn't be trusted to make a revolution. They would run at the first sound of gunfire. What were needed were men willing to die because the Party told them to die. This principle of Party organization remains in full effect today throughout the communist world.

Lenin was an able propagandist and agitator. He thought chiefly in terms of battle plans, tactics, and strategy rather than of theories or philosophical abstractions. In 1900, from his exile in Europe, he helped found a revolutionary paper, *Iskra* (the *Spark*), printed in Germany but smuggled into Russia. (A young ex-seminary student in southern Russia, Joseph Vissarionovich Djughashvili, later known as Stalin, was a reader of *Iskra*.) This paper offered directions to the secret revolutionaries in Russia, told them the "line" to follow, urged better Party organization. In addition, Lenin pounded out his

"rules of revolution" in articles and pamphlets that were widely circulated in the Russian underground.

Though militant himself, Marx was never able, in his detached atmosphere, to instill the spirit of militant action into communist policy as did Lenin. The crafty Russian, brought up in an atmosphere of revolutionary agitation, did not shrink from any crime. He held that there could be no hesitation or vacillation. Use any weapon—knife, hatchet, or gun—to achieve your aim, he urged. A man was either your friend or your foe. Find out quickly. If a friend, clasp his hand; that is, as long as he served a purpose. If a foe, take drastic action.

All during his lengthy exile Lenin was constantly studying, writing, debating, and expounding revolutionary principles. Like Marx, he used the facilities of Western democracy, such as the great library of the British Museum, to undermine the very freedom that gave him this opportunity. Nadezhda tells of his studies in the Geneva library:

He would again take out the books left unfinished the day before. They would be about barricade-fighting or the technique of offensives. He would go to his customary place at the little table by the window, smooth down the thin hair on his bald head with a customary gesture, and bury his nose deep in the books. Only rarely would he get up, and then in order to take down a dictionary from a shelf and search for the explanation of some unfamiliar term. He would then stride up and down for a while, resume his seat, and in a tense manner rapidly scrawl something in minute handwriting on little squares of paper.

These studies, as later events were to prove, helped produce practical and concrete ways of making revolutions:

[Lenin, says Nadezhda] not only read through, thoroughly studied, and thought over everything that Marx and Engels had written on revolution and insurrection. He also perused numerous works on the art of warfare, considering the technique and the organisation of the armed insurrection from all standpoints. He was occupied with this work much more than

people realised, and his talk about "shock" groups during the civil war and "groups of five and ten" was not the chatter of a layman, but a well-thought-out proposition.

Lenin labored day and night for seventeen years in perfecting his plans for the revolution. His opportunity was to come in November, 1917.

In March, 1917, revolution erupted in Russia. The German army had defeated Russian troops. The Czar's government was tottering, and a liberal regime, later headed by Alexander Kerensky, assumed control. The Czar was forced to abdicate. This was the signal for Russian revolutionaries of all types to return to Petrograd: Lenin from Switzerland, aided by the German High Command; Leon Trotsky, later to become a high official in the Bolshevik regime, from New York City; Stalin from Siberian exile.

Lenin plotted against Kerensky, eagerly awaiting the moment he could overthrow the new government. He created dissension in the armed forces. He refused to cooperate with the government except on his own terms. All the time he was desperately building up and training his Bolshevik Party. Lenin had a "sixth sense" in diagnosing revolutionary situations. He knew when to act and when not. Like a crafty tiger, he was circling his prey. Lenin was the true leader of the Russian revolution. Stalin, fresh from Siberia, was relatively unknown, but he was learning the skills of deceit and murder that were soon to catapult him to power.

In the fall of 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power in the October Revolution. Lenin became the dictator of all Russia. Communism had made its first breach in the wall of capitalism. (The revolution occurred on October 25, 1917, according to the Eastern calendar then in use in Russia. Hence, the term "October Revolution." Under the Western calendar, later adopted by the Soviets, the date is November 7, 1917.)

The Bolsheviks immediately instituted a terroristic "dictatorship of the proletariat." Marx had conceived the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transitory period for the establishment of a communist society. Lenin, however, dipped it

in blood and gave it a prominence and ruthlessness that shocked the entire world. The secret police, then known as the Cheka, instituted a reign of terror; capital punishment was meted out widely. A search for enemies rocked the country. *Pravda*, the Party newspaper, urged drastic measures.

The Czar and members of his family were executed by the Bolsheviks and their bodies destroyed. Here is an eyewitness account by Leonid Krassin, a member of the early Bolshevik government, as related by his wife, Lubov Krassin:

... we went through a period of so-called "Terror" . . . About six hundred to seven hundred persons were shot in Moscow and Petrograd, nine-tenths of them having been arrested quite at random or merely as suspect of belonging to the Right Wing of the S. R.'s [Socialist Revolutionaries, a Russian revolutionary party], or else of being counter-revolutionaries. In the provinces this developed into a series of revolting incidents such as arrests, executions en masse, and wholesale eviction of bourgeois and educated people from their houses, leaving them homeless.

The test of loyalty was often to what class the individual belonged, the extent of his education, how he was dressed, how much food he had in his house. If his pantry was too well stocked or his clothes too new, he might be accused of being an exploiter and sent before an execution squad.

This was an example of the dictatorship of the proletariat in action. This was a first step toward what Marx proclaimed as the "final" and "perfect" state of society, which is as visionary now as it was then. Millions of Russians found themselves gripped by a tyranny incomparably worse than that of the Czar.

Oddly, despite the predictions of Marx, communism seized power in a country where Marx would least have expected it. Marx had prophesied that the revolution was destined to occur in a highly industrialized nation. Russia was industrially backward.

During the years 1917-20 the Bolsheviks were forced to

fight for survival, first against the German army, then in a war with Poland. Also, the White Russians, a vigorous anti-Bolshevik group, assembled powerful military forces. A bitter White-Red civil war raged.

Lenin's answer was a policy of "war communism." Most industry was nationalized. Trade and commerce were officially abolished. The government undertook to distribute manufactured articles to the people. In agricultural regions food supplies were openly confiscated. Poor peasants were assembled in committees to spy on their richer neighbors who might be hiding grain. The setting of class against class was an established tactic of communism.

By 1921, when the last "enemies" had been driven from Russia, the nation was a shambles. The Bolsheviks, trying to adapt Marxist theory to a nation predominantly rural, had compounded confusion. Industrial production was down, peasants were in open revolt. Private incentive had been ruined. By 1922 famine raged, with tens of millions of people starving or on a semistarvation diet. Some estimates place the loss of life at five million. This was Russia's introduction to communism.

Fanatical Lenin, after years of working for the revolution, would not let it slip away from him now. He struck back furiously. Slave labor camps were increased; dreaded secret police compelled conformity; churches were closed. "Enemies of the people," those who opposed the Bolsheviks, were ruthlessly executed. Uprisings were cruelly suppressed.

However, terror was not the answer. In March, 1921, sailors of the Red navy in Kronstadt, formerly strong Bolshevik supporters, rebelled. Lenin, with his keen sense of timing, realized that a change had to be made.

The result was the NEP—New Economic Policy. Capitalist practices, so denounced by the Bolsheviks, were temporarily introduced to save the Russian government. Peasants were now allowed to keep surpluses of grain after taxation, instead of having them confiscated. They could even dispose of their surplus products as they chose, and private trade was allowed to develop. In the industrial field many businesses were re-



turned to private owners, although the government retained control over larger concerns.

To the surprise of Bolshevik leaders the NEP proved a relative success. It gave them the breathing spell they so desperately needed to consolidate their gains. Both agricultural and industrial production jumped. Lenin never lived to see the final results of the temporary NEP, but the revolution was no longer in immediate danger.

Lenin's scheming mind was laying the groundwork for extending the communist conspiracy throughout the world. In March, 1919, Lenin founded the Third International (better known as the Communist International or Comintern). The Third International was a keystone of Soviet policy, whereby Moscow, through Bolshevik discipline, could guide the activities of communists around the world, including those in the United States. To the communists, victory in Russia was only the first step. The whole world, they said, must go communist. "... victory is ours," Lenin proclaimed at the First Congress of the Comintern in 1919; "the victory of the world Communist revolution is assured." In early days the regime confidently expected communist revolutions in Western Europe. A communist regime sprang briefly into power in Hungary, another flickered in Germany. Although no permanent communist successes were achieved outside Russia, an effective agency of conspiracy now existed to undermine noncommunist governments.

The skill of Lenin simply cannot be overestimated. He introduced into human relations a new dimension of evil and depravity not surpassed by Genghis Khan or Attila. His concept of Party supremacy, girded by ruthless and ironclad discipline, gave communism a fanaticism and an immorality that shocked Western civilization. Countless individuals, some in high places, simply did not believe that men could behave as did the Bolsheviks; that brutality, terror, and the utter meaninglessness of human dignity could be a policy of state. But that was the contention, and the legacy, of Lenin.

Underlying all of Lenin's thoughts and actions was the use of naked force to achieve Party ends. He held that there could

be no permanent coexistence between communists and non-communists. The latter must be liquidated, by force if necessary. "Marxists have never forgotten that violence will be an inevitable accompaniment of the collapse of capitalism on its full scale and of the birth of a socialist society."

Dictatorship is power based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death. . . .

As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace: in the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism.

Lenin liked to use the word "ruthless," which is a clue to his thinking:

There is still too little of that ruthlessness which is indispensable for the success of socialism. . . .

... capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters. . . .

Contempt for death must spread among the masses and thus secure victory . . . the ruthless extermination of the enemy will be their task. . . .

This is the Lenin who has always been hailed by the Moscow ruling hierarchy as the guiding genius of communism in Russia and in this country. In fact, with the downgrading of Stalin, Lenin became increasingly extolled in Russia as the

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"guide to communist action." Nikita Khrushchev, speaking before the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in February, 1956, stated categorically:

The central committee has always and undeviatingly been guided by Lenin's teachings on the party.

• • • • •

Lenin taught us that a line based on principle is the only correct line. Never to deviate a single step in anything from the interests of the party. . . .

• • • • •

We must be guided by these wise injunctions of Lenin in all our activity.

In April, 1956, a Moscow journal, *International Affairs*, also made clear the pre-eminence of Leninism in Russia:

Using the brilliant plan left by Lenin . . . All the complex questions of home and foreign policy are decided by the Party, basing itself on the teaching of the immortal Lenin. That is why the Soviet people recall the words of Vladimir Mayakovsky [Soviet poet]:

"Lenin  
is now  
the most live of all living,  
Our weapon,  
our knowledge,  
our power."

These sentiments have been echoed by communists in the United States. In January, 1957, for example, Eugene Dennis, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, wrote, ". . . it is essential at all costs to consolidate and build the CPUSA as a strong Marxist-Leninist political party of the working class."

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Another American Party leader, Hyman Lumer, stated in February, 1957:

. . . he [Lenin] showed . . . the need for a vanguard type of party, armed with the Marxist theory of scientific socialism and possessing a high degree of unity and discipline . . . In its essential features, this is no less true today than it was when Lenin first formulated it.

Lenin could not have anticipated the lofty pedestal on which he was to stand in Moscow a generation after his death. However, his nation and the Party were to pass under the control of an ambitious, scowling, mustached revolutionary from the province of Georgia in south Russia, Joseph Stalin, who until recently was regarded as the fourth great personality of communism.

3.

*Stalin—A Fallen Idol*

IN JANUARY, 1924, after a long illness, Lenin died, leaving open a struggle for power that was to last until the 1930's.

The Russian dictator sensed, some time before his death, the evil influence of the man who had squirmed his way to the position of the Party's General Secretary. Joseph Stalin, a cobbler's son, had been an old-time Bolshevik. Born in 1879, he had attended a seminary at Tiflis, in the Caucasus, but in 1899 had been expelled. Already he was involved in revolutionary activities. From 1902 until 1913, according to the communists, he was arrested seven times, exiled six times, and escaped five times from exile.

Plodding by nature, Stalin lacked the brilliance of his chief

rival, Leon Trotsky. However, his grasp of the Russian mentality was tremendous. Years as an agitator, prison inmate, and political schemer gave him an insight into communist intrigue that other Party leaders seemed to lack. Working silently but meticulously, he was quick to exploit any opportunity to increase his personal power.

Stalin liked to represent himself as the heir of Lenin, the man predestined to carry on the Bolshevik revolution. This claim is not borne out, however, by a "testament" prepared by Lenin shortly before his death. "Comrade Stalin," wrote Lenin, on Christmas Day, 1922, "having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution."

Then Lenin added a postscript dated January 4, 1923, a full year before he died:

Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position. . . .

However, the time for action had passed. Lenin was too sick to implement his testament. The result: a terrific struggle between Stalin and Trotsky for power.

Trotsky (real name Bronstein) was born in 1879 (two months earlier than Stalin). Early a revolutionary, he spent many years as an exile from Russia. After the Bolshevik revolution he served as Lenin's Commissar of Foreign Affairs and later did much to organize the Red army.

Many differences separated Stalin and Trotsky, the chief one being Stalin's idea that Russia should concentrate on making itself powerful *first*, before undertaking extensive revolutionary action abroad. Trotsky, on the other hand, believed that the Russian revolution could survive only if communist revolutions were promoted in other countries. Both desired world conquest. Their dispute, clouded by a personal hunger for power, centered on how to achieve it. Stalin was

the winner. Trotsky was exiled by Stalin in 1929, eventually finding refuge in Mexico. He was assassinated in 1940, reportedly by a secret communist agent.

Joseph Stalin was the fourth "top leader" of communism, claiming "divine" ancestry from Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Until his death in 1953, Stalin played a major role in the history of Russian and world communism, as a "continuer" of the work of Lenin. It was Stalin who, through murder, deceit, and brutality, gave communism *power*, firmly establishing Bolshevik control in Russia and spreading communism to other countries. However, he also was to become the first of the "Big Four" to be denounced by the communists and to have his name blackened by successors.

In carrying on the revolution Stalin became the interpreter of Marxism-Leninism. Under his rule the state, which Marx had visualized as "withering away," became even stronger, an agent of sheer oppression. The army, navy, secret police, and all political structures of the state grew ever more powerful and permanent. Slave labor camps multiplied. Soviet society became ironclad, more rigid than under the most autocratic Czar. Army officials, Party henchmen, industrial managers, all emerged as classes, each jealous of the other. The "working-man," whom Marx had extolled, was now an inferior class, exploited and downtrodden.

Stalin carried to the extreme Lenin's concepts of the Party as a fanatical, disciplined group. To Stalin the Party was not only a tool to seize and maintain power but also a method of liquidating all personal opposition and a means of educating the masses in the communist way of life.

The Party, for this reason, was kept "pure," meaning completely loyal, disciplined, and blindly obedient. Party schools, cadre training, and regimented discipline were needed to saturate the members in communism. Weaklings were purged, expelled and exiled to Siberia, or executed. In Soviet Russia, and all her satellites, the Party was constantly "Bolshevized"—made "more perfect in communism."

One result of this insistent demand for discipline under Stalin was the increasing crystallization of Marxism-Leninism

—already a harsh and regimented code—into an even more rigid, static, and often sterile body of doctrine. Like a shrinking garment, communist doctrine pressed ever more tightly on communists everywhere. Every action now had to be “justified” by theory. If the theory didn’t fit, then it had to be reinterpreted. To deviate was to court disaster. Stalin, though not so good a theorist as Lenin, liked to pose as Marxism-Leninism’s “export” interpreter.

This ossification of communist doctrine, under which the individual was afraid to take any initiative, contributed largely to the violent reaction against Stalin after his death. His successors realized that *some* breathing room was absolutely essential, although during Stalin’s reign they were content to serve, without protest so far as the record shows, as the executors of his policies.

Stalin also identified communism with nationalism and imperialism: *Russian* nationalism and *Russian* imperialism.

To him, communism seemed an ideal vehicle for Russian world conquest, and so, once communism was firmly entrenched in Russia, he embarked on a policy curiously similar to that of Czarist imperialists like Peter the Great and Catherine the Great.

Aided by disturbed world conditions between 1939 and 1953, Stalin started the Soviet chariot of conquest. He directly annexed a number of areas, such as eastern Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, part of Finland, eastern Czechoslovakia, part of Roumania. Then, using communism as an ideological adhesive, Stalin created a Soviet orbit: Yugoslavia, China, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, East Germany, Albania, Tibet, Outer Mongolia, and North Indochina (where bloody fighting was in progress at the time of his death). No wonder William Z. Foster in February, 1956, could boast that seventeen countries were “actually building Socialism or are definitely orientating in that direction,” having a total population of 900,000,000! He adds: “They constitute the beginning of the new Socialist world.” Note the use of the word “beginning.”

Native communist parties, aided by Moscow, were often

the instruments of subjugation, Trojan horses of the twentieth century. At other times Russian military power paved the way. Peoples with long traditions of freedom were betrayed into slavery. Significantly, no entire country has ever gone communist and become a satellite, by the free choice of election.

This grandiose conquest was abetted by Stalin’s inheritance of the tools of Marxism-Leninism, a way of life that is imperialistic, overbearing, and dictatorial. Some individuals may accuse Stalin, alone of the communist “Big Four,” of being responsible for the terror of modern-day communism. Marx, Engels, and Lenin, however, are also fully accountable, and so are Stalin’s henchmen, who still rule in the Soviet Union. Stalin may have been the active agent of conquest in our generation, but his knives were sharpened on the diabolical teachings of his communist predecessors.

Even in Stalin’s time cracks had begun to appear in the communist empire. In 1948 a terrific fissure, the break with Tito’s Yugoslavia, rocked Moscow. Currents of discontent, leading to national communism, spread through the European satellite nations. (National communism holds that nations can find their own way to communism and need not slavishly copy Moscow, yet also implies full confidence in the aims and doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, whose application will result in world communism.) “Treason trials” sprouted in many places: Vladimir Clementis and Rudolf Slansky in Czechoslovakia; Laszlo Rajk in Hungary; Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria. These high Party officials, all old-time communists, along with others, were executed. In Poland, Wladyslaw Gomulka, a deputy premier, was expelled from the Party and imprisoned. Stalin’s tyranny became even more strongly entrenched.

Few observers, even in Russia, however, could have guessed the intensity of hatred that lay under Russian tyranny. Less than four years after Stalin’s death the power of freedom was to erupt in Hungary. Poland swayed on the verge of revolt; unrest swept other satellites. Ironically, Gomulka, expelled as a traitor, now became Party boss of Poland; Rajk, along with others, was “rehabilitated.” The “sorrowing” communists even

work to be marred by the slightest hint of vanity, conceit or self-adulation."

No mention was made by Khrushchev of any anti-Semitic crimes committed by Stalin. However, on April 4, 1956, an article entitled "Our Pain and Our Solace" appeared in the Warsaw Yiddish-language newspaper *Folks-Shtimme*, which charged that Jewish culture had been largely liquidated under Stalin and many Jewish leaders executed. To date these allegations have never been denied by the Kremlin and American communists have reluctantly accepted them as true. On April 13, 1956, the East Coast communist paper, the *Daily Worker*, in an editorial entitled "Grievous Deeds," made mention of the earlier Polish "disclosures . . . that a large number of Jewish writers and other Jewish leaders were framed up and executed and that Jewish culture was virtually wiped out" in the Soviet Union. These monstrous deeds of anti-Semitism in Russia have had profound repercussions among communists in the United States.

No single event in Party history so unnerved communists abroad—and inside Russia too—as did the Khrushchev attack. Where did it leave communist leaders who year after year had fawned upon Stalin as the greatest of all leaders? Weren't they also responsible for such terrible perversions? What was this system called communism, represented as noble, when its chief exponent was a murderer, falsifier, and bigot?

History alone can tell the reasons for, and the ultimate effects of, this violent denunciation. We know about the growing unrest within Russia and the eagerness of the government to appease demands for a higher standard of living. We know how communists like to find scapegoats on whom they can place the people's hate and distrust, especially if the scapegoat is dead. We know of the jealous jockeying for power that is inevitable in any communist hierarchy.

Moreover, there also appeared to be an effort to rid communism of the growing "dead hand" of Stalin who, in his old age, had become capriciously tyrannical and personally maniacal. His successors saw how this crust of sludge, through

fear, terror, and ossification of communist doctrine, was crushing initiative.

But the essential elements of Stalinism, brutality, illegality, ruthlessness, remain. In October, 1956, the Hungarians revolted against their puppet government, only to be violently attacked by Soviet tanks and troops. Nothing could illustrate better the unrepentant Soviet heart. Moscow still firmly controls her satellite empire. Nowhere in a communist country have truly free elections been held. Communist subversion against the free world continues. Atheism remains a dominant doctrine. Unremitting support for Moscow is still demanded of communists everywhere. Speaking before the East German Parliament, Khrushchev made this point clear by stressing the "holy duty" of every communist to help strengthen the communist world.

Apparently realizing he had gone too far in criticizing Stalin, Khrushchev backed up and started to praise the late dictator, showing that in actual fact Khrushchevism was actually Stalinism in a different dress. At a diplomatic reception in Moscow in early 1957, Khrushchev commented boldly:

As a Communist fighting for the interest of the working class, Stalin was a model Communist . . . We have criticized Stalin, we still criticize him, and if necessary we will do it again. But we do not criticize Stalin as a bad Communist as far as the interests of the working classes are concerned. . . . God grant that every Communist should fight for the interest of the working class as Stalin did.

What can we expect in the future? Let Khrushchev himself answer: "Those who expect us to abandon communism will have to wait until a shrimp learns to whistle."

"What will the [Soviet] policy be like? . . . We will do the same, but with more emphasis."

This is the enemy we face today.

"The Communist Party, from the very beginning of its existence, found its work hampered because it had in its ranks only a few men capable of expressing Communist principles in the English language." The comrades lacked a practical understanding of American affairs, especially in the trade union field. Soon all kinds of wild-eyed plans arose. Each leader became his own interpreter of Marx and Lenin. Cliques, quarrels, and personal rivalries were rife.

The Russians (those who had been born in the "home of the revolution") thought they should play the predominant role. They argued: Wasn't Lenin a Russian? Didn't the revolution start in Russia? Hence they, the Russian-born, obviously had an "insight" denied all the others. They should be the leaders.

On one point, however, all agreed: obedience to Soviet Russia. Every communist considered Lenin a god and the Russian Bolsheviks models of perfection. These were the men who had made the October Revolution. They were the teachers; the Americans, the learners. Soviet Russia, at this time, was assuming an authority over communists in this nation that it has never relinquished. This control was to become ever more pronounced, inescapable, and dangerous.

The history of the Communist Party in the United States since 1919 is characterized by two main trends: (1) the development of a disciplined Party structure or, in the words of William Z. Foster, "the building of a Leninist Party of a new type," and (2) the complete and unquestioning subservience of the Party to Soviet Russia. Every word and deed, hope and aspiration, of American communists over the years has promoted these two objectives.

The conventions of the CLP and CP were over, but "civil war" continued. Communists roamed the country, denouncing each other.

Just a few weeks after the Chicago conventions Charles Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary of the Communist Party (the "American Lenin," who died in 1927 and whose ashes lie buried in the Kremlin), mounted a platform in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

He began his address. The Communist Party was the heir of the revolutionary spirit and its rival, the Communist Labor Party, was wrong. The CLP, he charged, was "centrist," a vile word to communists, just like the Party in Germany where the communists had failed. But his group, the Communist Party, was without sin. It represented the thoughts of the victorious Bolshevik Party of Soviet Russia.

When would the revolution come? Ruthenberg did not know; tomorrow or next week. But he was optimistic. The communists, he said, had better hurry to learn how to run the government.

Communist Labor Party orators replied in kind. They denounced their opponents. They alone held the sacred communist truth. Splinter factions, and they were many, raised their voices. They attacked everybody but themselves. American communism in these early days was bedlam.

There were other complications. Just a few weeks after the founding conventions, in the fall of 1919, the federal government and local authorities initiated prosecutive action against the communists.

As a consequence the communist movement went underground. Comrades met in secret hide-outs, maintained underground headquarters, and sent messages by couriers. Hidden printing presses poured out propaganda.

Underground or not, the "civil war" continued. The cramped quarters did not hinder the oratorical artillery. The inter-Party strife became fantastically bitter.

Moscow did not like either this bickering or the enforced underground work. The Kremlin wanted a single, unified Party, able to operate legally (above ground) as well as illegally (underground). Communism simply could not thrive on factional fights or in stuffy undercover cellars.

Moscow intervened through the Third International, an organization designed by the Soviets to control Communist Parties in other nations and to serve as an instrument of world revolution. The founding Congress of the Comintern, which opened March 2, 1919, in the Kremlin, was a bizarre affair.

in the history of American communism. Many were riffraff European Bolsheviks, of various nationalities, themselves knowing little about communism, who were hurriedly dispatched to the United States. Often, by their inept actions, they made American leaders more confused than ever. To gain admittance to the United States, they often used fake names, false passports, and special "covers."

This sounds like a crude system, and, in the light of present-day communist "diplomacy," it was. Nobody would imagine an official Soviet representative so identified in today's communist meetings or American communists openly going to Moscow to receive instructions. This "crudity" has been polished. The same channels of communication are still open, but more "professional" ways of supervision have been perfected.

Soon after the 1919 founding conventions, the Executive Committee of the Communist International sent a letter to the two underground Parties, the CP and CLP. The split, said the Comintern, had harmed the communist cause in the United States. Unity must be established "in the shortest possible time." The letter recommended the calling of a joint convention. The condition for unity was acceptance of the program of the Comintern.

This meant that personalities must be submerged, cliques ousted, and a uniform, standardized structure instituted. The concepts of a small, tightly knit Party (as taught by Lenin) must be put into practice. The Russian mentality must be imposed on every Party member. The Comintern was emphatic:

... unity is not only possible, but absolutely necessary. The Executive Committee categorically insists on its immediate realization.

In May, 1920, a "unity" convention of the Communist Labor Party and a faction (led by Ruthenberg) of the Communist Party was secretly held at Bridgman, Michigan, resulting in the formation of the United Communist Party of America (UCP). The delegates, as a security measure, used assumed

names. *The Communist*, in a special convention issue, was secretive: "Sometime recently, somewhere between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Gulf and the Great Lakes, two groups of elected delegates assembled as the Unity Conference of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party." A Comintern "rep" was present.

Many elements of the Communist Party, however, refused to go along and boycotted the new UCP. A chief point of dispute between the CP and CLP was the position of the foreign-language federations: should they be autonomous within the Party, having the right, if they desired, to withdraw, or be completely subject to the will of the Party? This issue touched the very heart of communist doctrine. No Communist Party could ever allow a member the "right" to withdraw. The misguided members seeking to retain some of these "rights" were swimming upstream, destined to failure.

Finally in May, 1921, after another year of bickering, the UCP and the remainder of the CP formed the Communist Party of America, Section of the Communist International, at a secret two-week convention at Woodstock, New York. The group's program, among other things, provided that the Communist Party would work for violent revolution, preparing "the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state." The convention officially accepted the twenty-one points for admission to the Comintern. The CP was now a complete prisoner of Moscow.

By early 1921 an "outward" unity was achieved in the communist movement, but the second problem still remained: bringing the Party into the open. The Third Congress of the Comintern (June-July, 1921) defined the problem:

The Communist International draws the attention of the Communist Party of America (unified) to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only serve as the ground for collecting and crystallizing the active Communist forces, but that it is the Party's duty to try all ways and means to get out of the illegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses.

The outline of the Party of today was beginning to take shape, the true Party conceived by Lenin, having both a legal and illegal apparatus. The legal aspect would be necessary to conduct communist propaganda among the noncommunist masses, to infiltrate organizations and operate communist fronts. But the underground must exist, for the revolution, the final aim of the Party, could never be anything but illegal. The underground apparatus would handle espionage, super-secret Party work, and would always be ready to expand if the legal Party, because of "capitalist" opposition, could not operate fully. The Communist Party at all times has desired both an upper and a lower level.

In December, 1921, the Workers Party of America was formed, a "legal" outlet for the underground Communist Party. The founding convention, held in New York City, was organized, controlled, and directed by Party leaders. Acting as a front for the underground communists, the Workers Party set up "open" headquarters, issued a "public" paper, and operated in full view. The communist movement now had a dual setup: the underground Communist Party, affiliated with the Third International in Moscow, commonly known among members as *Number One*, and the Workers Party, not so affiliated, known as *Number Two*. They were, however, the two faces of the same communist coin.

Those were turbulent days in the American communist movement. Party leaders were grotesque characters, making speeches in underground meetings, sitting in secret conventions (sometimes in the middle of woods), or traveling to Moscow. They usually had several aliases for use on fake passports and in Party correspondence or to be given to the police if arrested.

Their obsessive love was Soviet Russia. Communists of all varieties streamed to Moscow. William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, John Reed, "Mother" Bloor visited there. Many had business: to attend Comintern meetings, to serve as "representatives" of the American Party, to enroll in a communist school. Others went as plain sight-seers, to view at first hand this land of "para-

dise." Sometimes whole groups would go, as for example a delegation that sailed in 1927 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the revolution.

The visitors were received cordially and treated well unless reason existed to the contrary. Some actually got to see the great Lenin. William Z. Foster, telling of seeing Lenin for the first time in 1921, commented that "It was one of the most inspiring moments" of his life. They attended Comintern Congresses, talked to high Party officials, looked around the town. They were being primed for their roles, puppets to fight the communist battle in America.

Then back they came to tell their comrades of the marvels of this new land. In speeches all over the country they shouted communist propaganda:

Russia is the only "real democracy" on earth; the working people are better off in Russia than in America.

Never has the American communist movement expressed itself in more revolutionary, violent, and bitter terms than in the early 1920's. Party leaders shunned the cautious, evasive double talk of today's communists. They believed in violent revolution and said so. The underground communist press was filled with revolutionary statements. One journal tried to outdo the other in the use of violent language.

The Party was controlled, just as it is today, by a very few. Moreover, policy, at all times, was subject to the approval of the Kremlin, acting through the Comintern. Loyal Americans should always remember that the Communist Party, USA, has never existed as an independent organization. Soviet control was instituted at the very beginning. Acceptance of the twenty-one points confirmed the imprisonment.

Party business of the underground apparatus and the above-ground Workers Party was supervised by the Secretariat, a group usually consisting of three of the most trusted leaders. A larger group, the Political Committee of some seven to ten comrades, handled many of the Party's day-to-day affairs, such as manipulating a strike, designating a new Party



work, and possess a "clean" Party record. The Comintern studied the students' background and approved those selected by the Party to attend. As a general rule, students traveled to Moscow under assumed names and with fraudulently obtained passports.

The original Lenin School was located in an old Czarist palace. Students and faculty lived under strict security conditions. The curriculum included not only Marxist-Leninist tactics but the theory and practice of organization, underground and conspiratorial operations, and the tactics of revolution and civil war. The students were taught how to erect stout barricades, conduct guerrilla warfare, and handle firearms. The Soviets wanted rough-and-ready revolutionists, men who would kill, murder, blow up trains, and start revolutions.

Many of the top leaders in Communist Parties around the world are graduates of the Lenin School. The National Committee of the Communist Party in the United States today includes such graduates of the Lenin School as Eugene Dennis, Claude Lightfoot, Carl Winter, Simon W. Gerson, William Weinstone, Nat Ganley, Steve Nelson, and others. Former Lenin School graduates also include such well-known communists as Betty Ganpett, Gus Hall, Albert Lannon, Phil Bart, Rose Wortis, Loretta Stack, Henry Winston, and numerous others. The Lenin School became so notorious that it, like the Comintern, was discontinued. After all, it had turned out thousands of graduates, and the communists probably thought it had fulfilled its usefulness.

The American Communist Party began to grow up. From an infant, mostly mouth and little body, it gradually began to take on shape and form. It was soon to increase its participation in American life.

## 5.

*The Party Grows Up*

Prior to 1921 communists in the United States had been so concerned with their own private squabbles and organizational problems that they had little time for external activities.

After the 1921 "unification," however, the Party, although still weak, emerged with greater stability. It was now being equipped with two striking arms: (1) the underground Party apparatus and (2) the above-ground, or "false-face," apparatus of the Workers Party.

The time was ripe for communists to move in on American life and American institutions. The first objective was organized labor. Later the battlefield was to be extended to include all aspects of American life up to and including activities of the federal government in Washington.

Prior to 1921, by their own admission, communists had not been particularly effective among trade unions. True, William Z. Foster had helped found the Trade Union Educational League in 1920, but this communist-dominated group had made little headway. The Party at that time had lacked the discipline and training to exploit strikes. Its aims were usually visionary and, above all, too openly revolutionary. During the 1919 steel strike, for example, the Communist Party had issued this proclamation:

THE WORKERS MUST CAPTURE THE POWER OF THE STATE. THEY MUST WREST FROM THE CAPITALISTS THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH THE CAPITALIST RULE IS MAINTAINED.

In the 1930's, with the beginnings of the depression, the Communist Party broadened its propaganda-agitation work. Economic disorder was exploited. The Party organized parades, hunger marches, petition campaigns, mass demonstrations. It plunged with vigor into strikes such as the San Francisco general strike of 1934 and the textile and bituminous coal strikes of 1934-35. In November, 1935, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was launched, and communists attempted to burrow themselves in its member unions. In addition, they attempted to convert members of other labor unions, minority groups, especially Negroes and individuals recently arrived in the country.

The Party increased in numbers. By 1930, after the great "purges," membership stood at 7500. By 1935 it had jumped to 30,000, and to 80,000 in 1944. The Young Communist League, the youth organization of the Party, reached 20,000 by 1938. Communist "cells" were being formed in industrial plants, and Party members had infiltrated governmental positions, some even carrying out espionage. Intra-Party struggles had ceased, with Earl Browder, a native of Kansas, being elected in 1930 as General Secretary. He was to remain "in power" until 1945. Step by step the Party was becoming stabilized, developing its agitation and propaganda functions. Disciplinary machinery maintained "unity" and "correctness of views." This was a period of accepting new members, broadening struggles, and strengthening organizational structure.

In 1935 the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, meeting in Moscow, initiated the "united-front" policy, which provided that communists should work with other groups against fascism. Since 1933 Hitler had become the principal target of Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks, fearing German military power, desperately attempted to enlist the support of the noncommunist world against the Nazis. Russia joined the League of Nations and became a strong supporter of the "collective security" program aimed at holding Hitler in check. Fascism, the communists shouted, represented a danger to everybody, communist and noncommunist. All must work together.

The "united front" is an old Leninist tactic designed to prepare for revolutionary situations. Internationally, the aim is to protect the Soviet fatherland. On a local level it gives the communists an opportunity to infiltrate, manipulate, and take over organizations. Noncommunists are encouraged to participate in communist campaigns with the Party, which always keeps in mind the best way to advance its own interests. If a united-front tactic does not promote communism, it is dropped. A new approach is then developed.

The prewar period was the time of great communist fronts in which so many innocent victims were caught. Literally hundreds of organizations, such as the American Youth Congress, American League Against War and Fascism (later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy), the American Peace Mobilization, and the National Negro Congress sprang into existence. They were created or captured by the communists. All were tailored, through high-sounding names, to attract as many people as possible; the communists had something to offer everybody. The Party during these years moved literally thousands of Americans, causing them, in some way or other, to support the communist cause. Their thought-control nets were busy at work, as will be shown later. In 1936 the Spanish Civil War erupted, and the communists in the United States, amid great fanfare, sent about 3000 "volunteers," commonly known as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, to aid the Spanish Loyalists. Front groups of many types were formed to collect money, supplies, and medical aid. Those Americans who were the leaders in the movement to send other Americans, of whom some 50 per cent never returned, had no interest as such in either the Franco group or the opposing Loyalist government. They were acting, along with international communism, to advance the Bolshevik cause.

American communists used glittering promises, underhanded tricks, and downright fraud to coax young men to go to Spain. An enlistee might be promised a lucrative position in Spain, cash rewards, or travel accommodations. A young girl would entice unsuspecting men; in return for her favors

they would promise to enlist. If necessary, fictitious passports were obtained or enlistees were stowed away on boats. An elaborate "convoy" system was established, individuals being taken from the United States, usually through France, to Spain. Any tactic was used to gain fighting manpower for the communist cause.

The events of World War II were to demonstrate clearly the loyalty of a now disciplined Communist Party to Soviet Russia. In August, 1939, the entire world was shocked: Hitler and Stalin had signed a "nonaggression" pact! Here was Moscow making an agreement with that "Fascist beast," Hitler, whom it had denounced in bitter terms.

In a few days the pact's full meaning became clear. Hitler had made a "deal." German forces invaded Poland. The Russians, much more quietly, moved from the east. Poland was partitioned and Russia annexed a large slice of Polish territory. Hitler now turned toward the west, his "back" secure.

The Soviets were now in the role of "defenders of the peace" and everyone else was an "imperialist warmonger." If Stalin did it, well, it was right. Hitler, the former enemy, now became a friend and ally. The war between Germany and the Western Allies was termed an "imperialist" war, with no support for the Allies. There was opposition to lend-lease, the draft and military production, support of strikes, circulation of antiwar literature. "The Yanks Are Not Coming" was the slogan. Russia's war on Finland in 1939-40? That was different. That was not imperialism, said the communists. Round-the-clock marchers picketed the White House, urging that the United States stay out of the European war. The pickets were suddenly disbanded on June 21, 1941. A change in tactics seemed imminent.

The next day, June 22, 1941, the Germans attacked Soviet Russia. The European conflict now became a "patriotic war," a "people's war." The United States must lend support: war matériel, money, and manpower. Russia was being overrun. The revolution was in danger. A virtual nightmare gripped the communists. Employ anything to help the land of Stalin: lend-

lease, a second front, immediately. Strikes must be stopped. Send relief to Russia.

All these moves and countermoves are not just history. They stand as an everlasting warning of the way in which communists in America, whatever their claims, serve only one master: Moscow.

Other events in Russia had repercussions in the Communist Party, USA, as they still do today. In 1943 Moscow dissolved the Comintern. One purpose was to mollify Western fear and distrust of communism. Russia, the communists claimed, wanted to be a genuine friend. In 1944, following the new line, the Communist Party, USA, under Browder's leadership, "dissolved"; actually it merely changed its name to the Communist Political Association (CPA), a "political-educational association." Here again the idea was to "soften" opposition to communism, make it sound a "little better" to Americans. This was the period when Russia was a military ally and the communists were trying to extract as much as they could from this country. The best tactic, of course, was to be "friendly." The Communist Political Association did not have the harsh, bugaboo connotations of the "Communist Party," but it was the same faithful lackey of Moscow.

In 1945 the war was over. Hitler was defeated. Moscow reverted to its former hostile "line"; she denounced the Allies and claimed full credit for destroying Hitler and Japan too. Communist Parties, including the one in America, were told to be more defiant.

This meant another change for the communists in the United States. In April, 1945, an article was published in a French communist journal, *Cahiers du Communisme*, by Jacques Duclos, then Secretary of the Communist Party of France. Duclos condemned "Browderism," the so-called policy of "collaboration" with American capitalism as shown in the CPA. This was "revisionism," "opportunism," and a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. What was needed, according to Duclos, was a militant attack on "capitalism," not cooperation with it.

The Duclos article initiated a purge in the Party, the greatest since the days of Lovestone and Gitlow. Browder

became the scapegoat. An emergency convention of the Communist Political Association was hastily called and by "unanimous vote," except Browder's, re-established the Communist Party. Browder was suspended from office and later expelled. This man from Kansas, twenty-five years a faithful servant of the Kremlin, had served his purpose. Foster became Chairman.

"Browderism" was regarded by communists as a direct outgrowth of the Lovestone-Gitlow period. Lovestone had been accused of espousing "American exceptionalism." By this the communists meant that he viewed American capitalism as something "exceptional," not obeying the Marxist-Leninist laws, which teach that capitalism, because of internal contradictions, will decay. Lovestone believed that American capitalism was too strong to follow these Marxist rules.

Browder, according to his communist critics, also fell into a similar error. He overestimated the power of American capital and believed that, through planning, America could overcome for some time its economic problems. This theory of "organized capitalism," these opponents said, was wrong. It revised Marxist principles, weakened the communist movement, and betrayed the "socialist future."

After 1945 the Communist Party, using Browderism as a weapon, entered into a new period of consolidation and loyalty to Soviet Russia. The Party apparatus was tightened and discipline strengthened. Security commissions, with almost unlimited powers, tested the "loyalty" of members and many were expelled. Increased restrictions on the admittance of new members were set up. The Party press, following the Moscow tack, inveighed against American "imperialism" and heaped abuse on the Marshall Plan, the Greece-Turkey Aid program, and the organization of a West European defense organization. The old-time Stalinist, William Z. Foster, was welding the Party into an anti-American weapon of the cold war.

In 1948, for the first time since the 1920's, the Party found itself on the defensive when the Department of Justice initiated prosecution against its leaders. The twelve members of the Party's National Board were indicted under the Smith

Act (enacted in 1940), which prohibits any conspiracy that advocates the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence. Previously, in 1941, the government had instituted prosecutions against members of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyites) under this statute. Other statutes since used by the government in the attack on the Party include the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954.

In a long trial, running through most of 1949, eleven members were convicted, the twelfth, William Z. Foster, having been severed from the trial because of illness. In June, 1951, the Supreme Court upheld these convictions, and the government subsequently took prosecutive action against additional Party leaders.

This government prosecution was a strong disabling blow against the Party. Many of its top leaders were arrested and convicted. Others lived in fear of arrest. As a result the Party to a large extent went underground in the first large-scale underground operation since the early 1920's. Party offices were closed, top Party leaders went into hiding, records were destroyed. Courier systems were instituted and clubs broken up into small units, if not completely disbanded. For about four years, from mid-1951 to mid-1955, the Party in protecting itself spent energy, time, and money that otherwise would have gone into agitation and propaganda.

Again, as in previous years, events in Russia determined communist policy in America. The death of Stalin in 1953 and the advent of Malenkov brought the "Big Smile" policy from the Soviet bear, which was continued by Bulganin and Khrushchev. The Communist Party, USA, weakened and largely immobilized in its underground haunts, welcomed the new line. Then, in the summer of 1955, came the Geneva Conference. The Party, sensing a new "political climate," began to come above ground. Quietly communist leaders reappeared in public, many courier systems were discontinued, and most underground hideaways abolished. By the spring of 1956 most of the Party's underground had been curtailed and even the communist leaders who had become fugitives from

justice began to surrender. This experiment in underground strategy had cost the Party severely.

Now, however, the Party was faced with severe problems of internal disorganization and factionalism. Many Party members had left the movement. Administrative affairs were in a state of chaos. Invaluable records had been destroyed. Party leaders, returning from underground assignments, found that they were often ignored by the ruling hierarchy. Money was scarce. Footholds in noncommunist organizations, such as labor unions, had largely been lost.

Then came Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and charges of anti-Semitism in Russia. In the fall of 1956 came the bloody Soviet intervention in Hungary. No events since the German-Russian nonaggression pact of 1939 had so gravely shaken the Party. Stalin, the man the comrades had revered so long, was proved to be a murderer, thief, and liar. Communist leaders in the United States were stunned and aghast. Immediately, different opinions developed as to the Party's future policy—opinions that gave rise to severe leadership differences.

One group, headed by William Z. Foster, although accepting Khrushchev's denunciations, emphasized what "good" Stalin had done for the communist movement. These were the so-called Stalinists, who wanted as few changes as possible in the Party organization. Opposing Foster was a faction headed by John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, who openly advocated disbandment of the Party and establishment of a political association. This action, he argued, would make the Party more palatable to the general public in light of the severe criticisms. In between, many middle-of-the-roaders, led by Eugene Dennis, were not sure just what the Party should do in this, one of its most severe crises.

In February, 1957, the Party assembled in its Sixteenth National Convention, the first since 1950. The convention was under the dictatorial control of a few Party leaders. Much deceitful publicity was released to demonstrate that the Party had declared its "independence" of Moscow, that a new leadership had been installed, and that the Party was entirely American in character. However, Foster and his associates

so effectively manipulated the sessions that the same old Stalinist line prevailed.

The Party retained its same old name, continued the majority of its old leadership; it reaffirmed its adherence to the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism; it reaffirmed its acceptance of "proletarian internationalism"; it refused to condemn or even take a stand on the Soviet rape of Hungary; it refused to condemn the tyranny and proven anti-Semitism of the Soviet Union; it did not take a single affirmative step to declare its independence of the Soviet Union; and, in fact, the Soviet-controlled press hailed the Communist Party, USA, for remaining loyal "to the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

The Communist Party is a highly disciplined tool of the Soviet Union in the United States. In the thirty-eight years since it came into being, it has developed a trained and potentially effective leadership that overnight, should the situation become favorable, could expand into a mass organization of great potential power. No longer does it need to send its promising young leaders to Moscow for training, because its own educational system is now performing that function.

The present menace of the Communist Party in the United States grows in direct ratio to the rising feeling that it is a small, dissident element and need not be feared. As we relax our protection and ease up on security measures, we move closer and closer to a "fool's paradise."

Through the Communist Party, the mentality of the Russian Bolsheviks is being transmitted to America, together with the belief that man can be completely redesigned from a child of God into a soulless social cog. The Party member, whether he be a farmer in Missouri, an automobile worker in Michigan, or a lawyer in California, must be made to think, act, and be like other Party members. Many techniques, such as discipline, education, the Party press, recreation, literature, organizational structure, the arts, are used to fashion the "communist man," the terror of the twentieth century. This is the "man" the Kremlin hopes will place the hammer and sickle above the White House and establish a Soviet America as part of a world empire, with Soviet Russia as the master of all. This is the

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"man" who, in a recent secret Party meeting, admonished the comrades present that a search of history would show that there has never been a revolution without force and violence and when the time comes, "We will hang and shoot those responsible for the type of government we have today."

*Part III*

THE COMMUNIST APPEAL  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES

applied in varying degrees to different groups of our population, is the key to communist strength in America today.

The Party's objective is to drive a wedge, however slight, into as many minds as possible. That is why, in every conceivable way, communists try to poison our thinking about the issues of the day: social reforms, peace, politics, veterans', women's, and youth problems. The more people they can influence, the stronger they will be.

Top Party officials have a definite assignment: to capture positions of power. They are the Party's front-line commanders. Communism is at war with America. The United States is a vast battlefield. A school, a labor union, a civic group, a government official, a private citizen—all are important in the never-ending struggle for power.

The whole nation, to the communists, is a gigantic checkboard. The communist high command is constantly moving, jumping, switching, and retreating to get communist members in positions of influence. They are outnumbered; they know that. That is why they must depend on skill, maneuvering, and deception.

The communist official in our country realizes that his supporters often form a motley collection, varying greatly in loyalty: some are fanatically loyal; others are half-timers or "single-nighters." Many are "tremblers," needing constant encouragement, whereas some are just victims unwittingly caught in the Party net.

But time after time the communists are able to weld these seemingly ill-assorted supporters into a unified instrument of power. They have succeeded in creating and dominating different areas of thought control. Each area contains supporters who, under Party guidance, can quickly and effectively be mobilized. The result of this manipulation, as applied to diverse personalities, groups, and issues, is a tribute to the communists' deceitful skill. By this technique, using its own membership as a base, the Party is today influencing literally thousands of Americans.

There are five principal areas, or circles, of thought control that should be thoroughly understood. These are the keys to

communist mobilization to achieve control of the United States.

1. "Open" Party members. The area of highest thought control, which is the core of communist strength, is the Party membership. These individuals, after indoctrination, become full-fledged revolutionaries, pledged to stick with the Party at all times.

Normally they make no effort to conceal their membership. They may be high-ranking officials, such as a state chairman, a section organizer, a club chairman, an educational director, or mere rank-and-file members. They are enrolled, pay dues, and accept Party discipline.

The Party member must be completely obedient; that is the hallmark of Party life. The constitution of the Communist Party, USA, sets forth specifically this definition of a full-fledged member:

A Party member shall accept the Party program as determined by the Constitution and conventions of the Party, belong to a Party club and pay dues.

Very clearly, he is a tool of the Party.

Party policy is built around Party membership. The trained member is one on whom the Party depends to commit espionage, derail a speeding train, and organize riots. If asked, gun in hand, to assault the Capitol of the United States, he will be expected to obey. These members are today working to promote a Soviet America: some in undercover assignments, some in communist-front organizations, others as Party officials. They are the offensive shock troops—confidently expecting that the precise moment will arrive when conditions will make feasible the revolutionary overthrow of our government.

If the Party desires to undertake a certain task, Party members, seen or unseen, will be the leaders. Suppose that a communist front is to be started; that is, an organization which is to be maneuvered by the Party. A communist sympathizer may

be named president, but a Party member will probably be executive secretary, placed there to control policies. Or suppose a giant rally for "peace" is to be held. The platform will glitter with noncommunists. But a communist member on hand will control the agenda.

The strength of this inner circle, the real backbone of communist striking power, lies not in numbers but in organized deception. Following Lenin's teachings, the Party is a small, compact, and highly mobile group that can strike quickly with great fury, often achieving objectives unwarranted by its numbers. Today's membership is hard, well trained, and disciplined. The weak, fainthearted, and skeptical have been purged. Those who remain faithful to the Party are dedicated to the communist revolution. They are willing to sacrifice everything for it. Here is an actual case:

A Party member was given a special assignment. The first step was to drop everything and go into hiding. That was all he was told. He obeyed. He took another name, moved away. Time passed. The children began to ask, "Where is Daddy?" The mother's answer: "He is dead. You don't have a daddy!"

This is the fanaticism of the trained member.

To be obedient, however, is not enough. This select group of Party members must be made superobedient, meaning subservient beyond the hope of return. They must be constantly whipped into a state of frenzied enthusiasm and never allowed to relax. The moment a member "lets up" he is endangered; a noncommunist thought might slip in. He must be made to think exclusively in Party terms and nothing else. Some Party members are old-timers; others are new recruits. All of them grew up in capitalist society. Many still show the effects of their "enemy upbringing," especially the younger ones. That is why they slacken once in a while. They think for themselves; they put self before Party. These instincts must be pounded out and communist thoughts instilled. Communists are not born; they are made. For example:

A Party leader in the Deep South was angry. He was talking to a member who had "slipped" a little. This individual was not giving his best effort to the Party, although he had been in the Party for twelve years and had fought in Spain with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

"Work harder for the Party," was the leader's theme. "You've got to give more time to the Party than you're doing now."

"And starve," answered the other man. "I've got to keep my job. I can't make a living just doing Party work."

"Let your wife work," retorted the official. "That'll hold you for a while, or borrow money if need be."

"But she can't make enough. Besides, she wants to keep house."

"She's a drawback," flashed the leader, "a definite hindrance. What are you going to do, stand up for the Party or your wife?"

The question was direct. The individual answered, "What do you want me to do? Divorce my wife?"

"If your marriage is such that you can't work for the Party," came the reply, "I'd seriously consider divorce. Your wife is selfish, simply self-centered. She wants all your time. She doesn't understand the movement. She's interested in her own happiness and security."

The communist leader rammed home his point. "I'm working all the time, so much that I can hardly sleep nights. You can't allow personal problems to take your mind off the Party. You've got to fight that kind of pressure. Your allegiance to the Party comes first. I never let my wife interfere. She knows her place."

2. *Concealed Party members.* Another area dominated by communist thought control consists of the concealed communist, the individual who, though accepting Party discipline, does not wish his affiliation to be publicly known. These two areas, open and concealed members, in fact, are closely related, often interchanging and always cooperating with each other. The concealed communist, because he is not known as a



communist, can often advance the Party's cause among people and in organizations where an open member would be scorned.

The number of concealed communists is high. They vary in degree of concealment. Some are concealed from the public and are not openly identified as communists. Others are concealed even from the membership, and a few are so deeply hidden that only top leaders know their identity. Usually the more prominent the individual, the more concealed he must be.

Concealed communists are found in all fields. They may be enrolled members, although secretly and usually under an alias or assumed name; or their names may never appear on official rolls. It does not matter. They are viewed by Party leaders as members. They are equally as dangerous as the open member, if not more so. They are difficult to identify and, being concealed, can operate freely in noncommunist groups.

A physician, a lawyer, an educator, a personnel manager in a business firm, a television script writer—each may be a concealed communist of great value to the Party. Suppose that a Party member is in hiding. He becomes ill. The doctor, a concealed communist, is called. He can be trusted. Or a study group is formed on a campus. The professor "guides" the discussion and subtly engenders communist doctrine. A personnel manager hires communist sympathizers, working them into key positions. Party influence increases, almost without anybody's knowing it. Here is an example of how the system works:

Two men huddle in conversation. One is a top Party official; the other, a high-ranking labor union leader who is a concealed communist, although his union has since ousted him from his post.

The national convention of the union is about to open in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Party official is issuing instructions. Support this, support that. He talks in great detail, laying down the over-all Party policy. Then he becomes more specific, even going so far as to dictate the wording of resolutions, suggesting the order of convention business, and ad-

vising how certain personalities should be handled. Nothing is to be left to chance.

The union leader listens. He can go on the convention floor, since nobody knows that he is under Party discipline, and carry out the communist program. This concealed communist is essential to the Party's thought-control technique. There are thousands like him always seeking to penetrate the healthy body of American life and to corrupt it.

In another case, a top communist leader, long before he fled into the communist underground, was confronted with the problem of being identified, for he was well known and his picture had been widely publicized in the press. He could dye his hair, shave off his mustache, and lose weight, but he still could be readily identified by a mole on the right side of his jaw. He went to a physician in a Midwest city, a reported communist, who operated on the Party leader to remove the mole from his face.

Another concealed member of the Party was the editor-in-chief of a conservative book-publishing house. This editor, having an excellent educational background, was highly regarded by his company. On one occasion, after this publishing house had been criticized by a newspaper columnist for publishing procommunist books, the president discussed the problem at a meeting of the board of directors. He reported that he had asked the editor if, in fact, he was a member of the Communist Party. The editor entered an emphatic denial. The president then advised the board that since the editor was a gentleman, the allegations that he was a communist were false.

The president of the publishing house simply did not know the facts. The editor's usual procedure was to have the manuscript of a communist author submitted directly to him on a personal basis. He would review it, be sure it was in publishable form, then have the author submit it to the publishing house through routine channels. Receiving the manuscript later through the company, he would recommend its publication. Through this technique, the editor was eminently successful in circulating communist literature.

mittee, after identifying the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, stated, "When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

The names of the group's one hundred fifty founders have been exploited by the Party to fight its battles.

To make a known Party member president of a front would immediately label it as "communist." But if a sympathizer can be installed, especially a man of prominence, such as an educator, minister, or scientist, the group can operate as an "independent" organization. This trick has worked time after time and is still working today. By allowing themselves to be used as tools, fellow travelers and sympathizers have immeasurably advanced the communist cause.

In Chapter 17 we shall discuss communist fronts in greater detail.

Of particular interest to the communists is the influence of fellow travelers and sympathizers in the "thought-molding" field: teachers, script writers, newspapermen, news analysts. If these individuals can be subjected to the slightest bit of communist thought control, the Party will have won a major victory.

One individual in New York City, for example, once occupied an important role as a news commentator and author. His views were consistently procommunist. He represented himself as an authority on international affairs. He claimed to have talked personally to many of the world's leaders. Just as the communists would want, everywhere he went he built himself up as an individual who could give the American people guidance in their thinking.

This sympathizer was simply irreplaceable in the communist scheme. No open communist could discuss current events before lecture audiences, behind the microphone, or through the written word with his degree of "objectivity" and "independence." He was able to fool many noncommunists and exert considerable influence. His lecture tours were often arranged by communist-front groups. A concealed communist contributed money to his expenses. Wherever this "world observer" went, he preached communist-line and pro-Soviet

propaganda. When his influence began to slip, he then changed his ways and sought his livelihood elsewhere.

Men and women of this caliber can do much to bring others into the communist thought-control net. No wonder the Party works to support them.

4. *Opportunists.* Another group that falls, on occasion, under communist thought control consists of opportunists, individuals who, if they can benefit personally, will knowingly support the Party in return for support or favors from it. Opportunists are cynical and self-seeking, not caring that by cooperating with the communists, even though temporarily, they are injuring the nation.

In a large Midwestern city a noncommunist labor leader had aspirations to become president of a union council. A group of communists, opposed to the then president, decided that this labor leader could be controlled. They drafted him as a candidate and, of course, on the election slate placed also some Party members. The labor leader won the election, and so did the communists, because they gained a man over whom they had a hold and whom they could therefore expect to use.

The opportunist was then pushed into various front organizations: he was put on the board of a communist-sponsored school; designated as a delegate to a convention of a front group; enlisted to join a campaign to oppose the "anticommunist clause" in a state-wide labor convention. He was besieged constantly to "do this" and "help us." His value to the Party was shown, for example, when, even though he refused on a certain occasion to cooperate with a Party front, his position was defended by the Party. The opportunist, in the Party's eyes, was more important to it as a labor leader than as a supporter of the front.

For some time the deal paid off. The opportunist received the prestige and the communists had a champion. Then things began to change. The opportunist had his own ideas and ceased to follow the Party lead. Relations became strained. When the communists wanted the city-wide council to endorse a well-known comrade as a candidate for the board of

"innocent victims." Let's see what communists pretend to be and what they really are:

1. *Communists are not liberals.* The concept that communism is a new world of liberalism is false, a trap used to catch noncommunists. The word "liberal" has a fine, upright meaning and is symbolic of a great historic tradition. That is why the communists appropriate the term for their own use.

Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Liberalism means increased rights for the citizen; a curb on the powers of the central government; freedom of speech, religion, and the press. Communism means fewer and fewer rights for the private citizen, curtailment of freedom of speech and press and worship of God. The state becomes all-powerful, the absolute reverse of American tradition.

Make no mistake, communists do not like liberalism; that is, the genuine liberalism of Western civilization. They denounce liberals ("liberal blockheads" Lenin called them) and attempt by every means to destroy them. The communists realize that true liberalism is a bitter enemy, a fighter for the things that communism opposes.

A derisive poem entitled "March of the Liberals" published in the July 16, 1935, issue of *New Masses* (a now-defunct communist publication) makes clear this communist attitude, depicting liberals as weak, vacillating, and incapable of any affirmative action:

a conclusion is something  
we never can find. . . .  
. . . One step forward  
and two steps back:  
that's the method  
of our attack.

"You see here," *New Masses* comments, "the rhyme and reason of why a liberal looks so poisonous to a sincere and active radical. . . ." The "antidote" for such liberalism? "Weekly doses" of Marxism-Leninism, or, in the words of the editors, "If you know one of these 'open-minded' marchers,

you can save him! Give him a copy of *NEW MASSES* quick. . . ."

The liberals do not want revolution but genuine social reforms. That is why the communists detest them. But if they can be exploited, so much the better. Like everybody else, they are fuel for the communist engine of revolution.

2. *Communists are not progressives.* "We of the Communist Party are fully and completely in the camp of progress. . . ." A prime tenet of communist propaganda is that communism is the latest word in social progress. All other forms of government, especially our constitutional government, according to the communists are outmoded, old-fashioned, and antique. Communism is the wave of the future, they like to say, bringing all the good things that man has been dreaming about for years. Religion, the "opium" of the people, must be destroyed, God cast out, and the "oppressors" liquidated. The road ahead is clear. Join the Communist Party and see "progress." Those who do not join are "reactionaries," "fascists," and "warmongers."

Everybody likes progress. If you are a farmer, you want to grow better corn and more of it. If you have a lawn, you want to weed out the dandelions and have better grass. If you are a manufacturer, you want to develop a better product. This is a natural human trait. The communists, identifying themselves with this idea, have convinced many people that they are the "progressives" of the twentieth century.

The exact opposite is true. Communists are barbarians in modern dress, using both club and blood purge.

Shortly before 1700 Peter the Great came to the throne in Russia. He was ruthless and dictatorial. He was interested in making the Russian state strong. The church, the nobles, the peasants, everybody must be subjected. The most minute details came under his supervision. The army was reorganized, a new civil service put into operation. He even ordered men to shave their beards and women to dress in modern clothing. The law was what he said it was.

Communists have inherited this tradition. With modern, efficient tools, such as the secret police, the army, and control

communists wanted mass meetings and demonstrations. *Pravda* couldn't publicly sound the call, so it resorted to Aesopian language.

But [the communist *History* reads] the call was understood by class-conscious workers when they read an article by Lenin bearing the modest title "Forms of the Working-Class Movement" and stating that at the given moment strikes should yield place to a higher form of the working-class movement—which meant a call to organize meetings and demonstrations.

Lenin himself told how he was compelled to write:

with an eye to the tsarist censorship. Hence, I was not only forced to confine myself strictly to an exclusively theoretical, mainly economic analysis of facts, but to formulate the few necessary observations on politics with extreme caution, by hints, in that Aesopian language—in that cursed Aesopian language—to which tsarism compelled all revolutionaries to have recourse, whenever they took up their pens to write a "legal" work.

In one propaganda tract Lenin, writing about world problems, mentioned "Japan." However, as he later explained, that was merely a trick to pass the censor. "The careful reader," Lenin said, "will easily substitute Russia for Japan. . . ."

So it is with the word "democracy." Communists still use Aesopian language; they say one thing and mean another. In this manner they fool noncommunists, encouraging them to believe that communism stands for something desirable. The trained communist knows otherwise: it is mere double talk with a completely different meaning.

The word "democracy" is one of the communists' favorite Aesopian terms. They say they favor democracy, that communism will bring the fullest democracy in the history of mankind. But, to the communists, democracy does not mean free speech, free elections, or the right of minorities to exist. Democracy means the domination of the communist state, the

complete supremacy of the Party. The greater the communist control, the more "democracy." "Full democracy," to the communist, will come only when all noncommunist opposition is liquidated.

Such expressions as "democracy," "equality," "freedom," and "justice" are merely the Party's Aesopian devices to impress noncommunists. Communists are masters at getting other people to do their work. They clothe themselves with everything good, noble, and inspiring to exploit these ideals to their own advantage.

5. *Communists are not American.* The Communist Party, USA, endeavors, in every possible way, to convince this country that it is American. "The Communist Party is American," one of its top leaders recently proclaimed. ". . . We take second place to nobody in our devotion to the United States and its people."

This is a typical Aesopian trick. Communism stands for everything America abhors: slave camps, rigged elections, purges, dictatorship. As we saw in Part II, the communist movement was born abroad, was imported into the United States, and grew up under the personal direction of Russian leaders in Moscow. How can communism be American when it employs every form of treason and trickery to bring about ultimate domination of the United States by a foreign power?

The American people, fortunately, are now more than ever aware of the danger of communism. The hostile attitude of Soviet Russia in international affairs, the Canadian spy revelations, Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin, Soviet intervention in Hungary, the aggression in Korea—all these events, and many more, have taught Americans that the communist is not an angel of mercy, ministering to the weak, oppressed, and wounded, but a menacing demon spattered with blood and wielding a hammer and sickle of iron.

Nevertheless, great damage has been done, and is still being done, in miscalculating and failing to understand the true nature of communism. In the 1930's, and especially during

World War II when Russia was a military ally, this foreign ideology gained tremendous strength.

The Party in 1944 claimed a membership of 80,000. Communist fronts welcomed overflow crowds; distinguished citizens flocked to do their work. A great backlog of influence was built up upon which the Party is still drawing. Thought-control nets touched, in one way or another, literally thousands of sympathizers and victims. Many individuals, people who should have known better, went completely overboard, hailing communism as "Twentieth-century Americanism," a term widely publicized by the communists themselves.

Henry A. Wallace, in a frank and forthright article entitled "Where I Was Wrong," published in *This Week* magazine on September 7, 1952, graphically pictured the communist power of deception, how he incorrectly interpreted communism and its counterpart, Russian imperialism.

While Vice-President of the United States, and even later, Wallace thought Russia "wanted and needed peace." He visited the Soviet Union in 1944 and was favorably impressed. But, as the article relates, he did not realize during his tour the feverish efforts being made by the Soviets to hoodwink him. For example, he visited Magadan, a city in Siberia, which was one of the Soviets' most notorious slave labor camps. "Nothing I saw at Magadan or anywhere else in Soviet Asia suggested slave labor." Later he learned of the Soviet actions

... to pull the wool over our eyes and make Magadan into a Potemkin village [an ideal show city especially built for visitors] for my inspection. Watch towers were torn down. Prisoners were herded away out of sight. On this basis, what we saw produced a false impression.

Mr. Wallace then added these important words:

... what I did not see was the Soviet determination to enslave the common man morally, mentally and physically for its own imperial purposes.

The communists claim to be many things they are not. All

over the world and in every field of human life they have erected false fronts, Potemkin villages, to fool and enslave mankind.

### 8.

#### *Why Do People Become Communists?*

IN THE LAST CHAPTER the Five False Claims of Communism, showed how, in truth, communists stand for everything that is abhorred by normal Americans.

Why, then, do Americans turn communist?

The answer involves many details and is not simple. Most communists are ordinary-looking people, like your seatmate on the bus or a clerk in one of your neighborhood stores.

Most communists in the United States are now native-born. Others are naturalized citizens; a few are aliens. Some have never gone to school and have difficulty reading and writing. Many are well educated and have college and university degrees. Often they possess special talents in one field or another.

A member may earn his living in practically any occupation or profession. Not long ago a large Communist Party section listed members in these categories, tabulated as "professional and white collar": artists, actors, doctors, dentists, educators, engineers, draftsmen, lawyers, musicians, nurses, newspaper writers, office workers, salesmen, social-service workers, pharmacists, clergymen. Or a member may be a butcher, carpenter, mechanic, truck driver, plumber, or laborer.

Members are recruited from all nationalities, races, and areas of the country. They may live in expensive mansions or

tumble-down homes. They are of all ages. Never can a communist be identified simply by his physical appearance, occupation, or clothes.

Why, you may ask, do these individuals join? And why, especially in this country, which, under democracy, has such a long and heartening record of expanding privilege and opportunity for so many?

Perhaps we can better understand why members join if we look at an actual case, which we can call the Case of Lost Faith.

Jack was born in a Midwestern city. He was tall, brown-haired, and possessed a pleasant disposition. He liked school and endeavored to please his teachers. He was intensely curious concerning the world about him, especially the physical sciences.

Then something started to happen to him, slowly but surely. His faith in God and religion seemed to be fading. As he later told FBI agents, he felt this loss already in high school. By the time of his graduation his faith in religion, which as a small child had been most sincere and tenacious, had completely disappeared. There was now inside him a spiritual vacuum.

Upon entering college Jack found himself with an exceedingly curious mind but one uncontrolled by any spiritual faith. In a class on government he made the acquaintance of the *Communist Manifesto*. Later he read sections of Engels' *Anti-Dühring*, which, among other things, discusses Marxist theory in relation to science. He was impressed. Here were some ideas that seemed to offer something positive and new.

Then one day, almost by chance, he came upon a leaflet distributed on the campus by a communist club. Jack became interested and made contact with the Party. Here, for the first time, he seemed to find an "answer" to the problems that had plagued him. Here, in the Party's claim to be working for a better world, Jack believed he had found a new "faith," which would give meaning and validity to his life. Though later he was to realize his tragic error, Jack joined the Communist Party.

In many instances we know, joining the Communist Party

comes from a loss of faith, so to speak, in our Judaic-Christian heritage and earnest, though perverted, seeking for a new faith. The individual is trying to find solutions to problems, real or fancied, that disturb his life. Many reasons cause individuals to join the Party, but undoubtedly most important is the Party's appeal to idealistic motivations, to a "bright new world" where justice, peace, and freedom will replace strife, injustice, and inhumanity. "I believed that in the Communist Party was the beginning of a true brotherhood of man, working with devotion for socialism, peace and democracy," wrote Howard Fast, one of the Party's best-known writers, later to become bitterly disillusioned. "... I believed, as did millions of men of good will, that the only truth about the Soviet Union was the picture presented by friends of the Soviet Union."

Communism with its deceitful double talk exploits these basic human yearnings for better social conditions, racial equality, justice, and peace, and places them in the service of tyranny. In this way, strange as it may sound, communists are able to entice free men to fight for slavery in the name of freedom.

Unfortunately, this idealistic motivation has given thousands of members, from brilliant scientists like Klaus Fuchs to ordinary laboring men, undaunted zeal and enthusiasm. Members driven on by this idealism have been willing to sacrifice their homes, families, and lives for the cause. They have become inflamed with a passionate, though twisted, courage. This is the motivation of the New York functionary who thought that five or six hours of sleep a night were sufficient for any member and regarded any request for time off as traitorous. "You can get your recreation after the revolution," she once snapped at an associate.

The Communist Party, in a very true sense, becomes as in the case of Jack a new but bigoted faith.

The FBI has interviewed many hundreds of Party members. A few case histories will illustrate why many joined. By understanding these influences we can do much to defeat the Party's present recruitment drive.

Let's take the case of Eric. He is typical of the many who

joined the Party during the economic depression. He remembered his youth as days of "deprivation." He worked at odd jobs, such as helping the milkman and caring for chickens. But everywhere he went he met bitter frustrations. He became more and more dissatisfied with existing economic conditions.

Then one day at a secondhand bookstore he came upon some documents that alleged very unsatisfactory conditions in American economic life. Eric bought and read these documents. "The effect upon me was profound; I don't believe that anything I have ever read has had the same impact upon me since." In his own words, he felt a "terrific compulsion . . . to do something to help better the conditions brought out in the report." He was swept up by a desire to wipe out prejudice, to "help bring the underdog of our civilization up to a place of dignity."

Eric had never talked to a Party member. He had no personal knowledge of communism. Yet somewhere he had formed a false impression of the Communist Party, based on communist propaganda. "I knew that it . . . somehow had come to believe that it considered all men equal, that it was fighting for the underdog, that it had no prejudices against color of skin or religion."

Motivated by these errors, Eric on his own initiative went to a corner drugstore, looked up the Party's address in the telephone directory, and called headquarters. He told how Party officials seemed "surprised" when he stated his desire to join.

With determination in his heart, Eric went to Party headquarters, climbed the brownstone steps to the front door, and rang the bell. A young lady answered. He asked if this was Party headquarters. She said no but pointed to a basement entrance. There, in the presence of an eighteen-year-old girl and a dark-haired, stooped man, Eric signed an application card for Party membership. His tragic decision had been made with gusto and enthusiasm.

Karl as a young man, like Eric, was deeply affected by the depression. He told how he had seen people eating out of garbage cans. He felt that something had to be done to remedy

conditions. Moreover, in his opinion, the incumbent government was not adequate to cope with the problems.

Soon he began to read communist literature and in 1934 joined the Young Communist League. But this was to be only the beginning.

In 1936 came the Spanish Civil War. Karl, because of communist agitation, became deeply interested. He detested Hitler and fascism. Mussolini and his Black Shirts were even more detestable. The more he thought about international developments, the more he had the urge to take a personal hand in the situation. His hatred of fascism was intensified when some of his relatives had to flee from Europe because of Mussolini's persecution.

Full of youthful vigor, Karl went to Spain as a volunteer in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Here on the front lines he was wounded and to this day bears the effects of the injury. This impetuous decision, taken against the advice of his family, represented a contribution of the Communist Party of the United States to international communism. Karl's idealistic fervor against fascism and injustice was translated into shot and powder for the furtherance of communist aims.

Many thousands of Americans joined the communist movement during these early days of the fight against fascism. The hardships of depression days contributed to the deceptive appeals of communism. These men and women, seeking solutions, thought incorrectly that the panacea lay in communism. They labored under the illusion that the Party and Soviet Russia represented a better democracy. As one disillusioned member was later to complain, "At this time the Communist apologists stressed idealistic goals, and bragged of a growing democracy in Russia."

Many individuals have joined the Party in the vain hope of improving social conditions, gaining better housing, or achieving better relations between the races.

Ralph was typical of many. He was a Negro, proud of his race and eager to help better its status in America. While in school he prepared a thesis on this subject. Wanting to secure various opinions, he asked several friends to read his manu-

script. One of these, a fellow student, remarked after reading the paper that Ralph's approach had been very naïve and that further study should be undertaken. Thereupon he furnished Ralph with information about Karl Marx and the communist viewpoint.

The communist position appealed to Ralph. Here was an organization that claimed that it was working zealously for the betterment of the Negro. The propaganda appeals seemed to point the direction that Ralph should take. He succumbed and joined the Communist Party. He was to learn that the Party has no sincere concern for the Negro but was and is using deceptive propaganda appeals to advance the communist cause.

The very same communist tactic applies in the field of labor unions. Edward was an active member of his union. In the early 1940's he was recruited into the Communist Party and assigned to a club in the industrial section of the Party. Why had he joined? "When I joined the Communist Party I believed that I was joining a political party that would benefit the workingman." Three years later he dropped out of the Party; it was *not* for the workingman. Rather it aimed at killing individual rights, making unions subservient to Party orders, and using union strength, influence, and finances to further communist goals.

The Party today is still busily at work trying to infiltrate unions. Historically, communists, including Lenin, have taught that communists must infiltrate unions. Every union member must realize that the communist interest in labor organizations is insincere. Past communist appeals have been recognized as false by patriotic union leaders themselves. Today's communist appeal is no less false or dangerous than those of previous years. Our knowledge of how the Party operated in the past is one of our best weapons in defeating its techniques today.

The list of specific reasons for joining the Party, growing out of a desire to improve our nation, would be long. One woman was interested in social problems, such as slum clearance and better housing. Communists claimed to favor the same things as she. She believed and joined. Another individual, as a young

minister, saw many injustices in a Northern state. Still another, arriving home from overseas, felt that the war had not accomplished any semblance of peace; he was displeased with American policy. He walked into Party headquarters on his own initiative and signed up.

Over the years thousands of Americans have entered the doors of communism. The turnover of Party membership has been great. Besides those motivated from idealistic reasons, there have been curiosity- and adventure-seekers, opportunists, disgruntled misfits, and power-hungry personalities. Some of these have consciously sought out the Party; others have just drifted into it. Many were youngsters, wanting to dance and sing. Some wanted social companionship. In others, sexual appeal played a role.

The Party, falsely representing itself as the final answer to *all* of society's problems, economic, social, political, and religious, makes ready use of the various hopes, fears, and aspirations of recruits. This dynamic deceit of communist action provides an immediate channel for energy and enthusiasm. Within hours a recruit will be handing out leaflets or running errands. He gets the feeling of being in action *now* and not having to wait to participate in the fight for what he conceives to be a better world. Many recruits to the Party, when asked later why they didn't offer their talents to legitimate organizations concerned with reform, said such groups were "too slow." In the Party they found that "immediacy" which so satisfied them.

Then, in working in the Party, the recruit is promised a "belongingness," a feeling of comradeship that can be won only in day-to-day battles for the greatest of causes. The member is told that he is part of a world-wide movement based on the most "enlightened," "advanced," and "scientific" principles. Unfortunately, the Party has been able to generate great enthusiasm through this teaching. One member told the FBI that the slogan, "vanguard of the working class," had appealed to him. He felt that not only was he contributing his own talents to the cause but he was "leading," "educating," and "guiding" others. "I think this activity was satisfying some-



thing in me," another stated. Such an approach often deceives recruits, especially those of an egotistical nature, who appreciate the prospect of achieving personal "power" inside the Party structure where the chief qualification for advancement is not ability, education, or talent but loyalty to the Party. One high Party leader whose authority over Party disciplinary matters extended across half a continent was in ordinary life a day laborer. The flattering of his ego from his Party position can well be imagined.

In particular the communists have made an appeal to the so-called intellectual. The seduction of many intellectuals over the years by the Party stands as a disgrace. Thinking men and women, trained to analyze critically, all too often have been duped.

Our experience has shown that members joining the Party for idealistic reasons are more likely to stay in the movement than those not so motivated. Of course, this is not always true. Though joining the Party in a sincere attempt to better society, a member may quickly become disillusioned. However, time after time members who join for curiosity, for social reasons, or for sexual pleasure soon drift out. They are usually not the material from which hard-core communists are made. Here is an example:

Gladys was a college girl, rather gay, not too serious, with a great deal of leisure. She attended some Marxist study groups. Here Russia and communism were painted in rosy colors. After several meetings she was invited to join the Party. She accepted, 80 per cent, she said, out of curiosity and partly because she felt that if the communists could achieve a "peaceful" world about which they talked, it would be a "nice thing." Other reasons Gladys gave for joining: to have something to do and to alleviate "boredom." She described Party literature as more amusing than educational. Needless to say, she did not stay in the movement. Even Party officials, in her opinion, never seemed to trust her.

A sad group of recruits are simply the twisted, mixed-up neurotics. Perhaps as sons and daughters of well-to-do parents they harbor a "guilt complex" about the very privileges that

America has given them. Or, because of some setback in life, they are angry at society and turn to communism as a way to "get even."

Let's look at Larry, a communist in a Midwestern state. Ever since youth, he had felt a "persecution complex." Everywhere he looked he seemed to see despair and strife. The whole of society, he concluded, was strictly a dog-eat-dog affair, with life being divided between the have's and the have-not's. Such an attitude was intensified by an "artistic" and "sensitive" temperament. Seeing these "injustices," he felt compelled to help the "persecuted." At first he became just a "reformer"; then, after reading Marxist literature, he joined the Party. Twisted, distorted, and maladjusted, he is today even more confused. He found that the Party only exploited his neurotic condition to make use of his services.

The techniques of actual recruitment vary. In most instances indoctrination comes slowly. A fellow union member, worker, or associate who is a Party member will "work" on the prospect. First come conversations about mutual interests such as union activities. Deftly the communist slant will be emphasized. Perhaps then will come communist literature or an invitation to a "study group." Step by step the recruit becomes enmeshed in the Party's efficient recruitment apparatus.

A former member told how she first became acquainted with communism, which she was later to reject. She was living a lonely life in a boardinghouse. She noticed that some of her neighbors had many friends who laughed and chattered gaily. Apparently they had common interests that drew them together. One night she heard the muffled overtones of what sounded like a meeting next door: "Overcome by my growing curiosity about them, I snooped as no lady should. I sat on the bed and pressed my ear against the plaster wall. As their subdued voices rose and fell, I caught words and snatches. I don't know now what I heard, or what could have convinced me in my great ignorance of that time. But before the meeting adjourned, I believed my jolly neighbors were Communists, and that I was listening to a secret meeting of a Communist cell of

Government workers! They did not look as Communists were pictured, and they were not plotting bomb-throwing or assassination, but some much duller discussion with long words." In her loneliness this woman joined the Communist Party but found neither "happiness" nor a "sense of direction"—only bitter disappointments.

Party fronts offer excellent means of recruitment. Be assured that every noncommunist who actively participates in a front is under the Party's close scrutiny. Sometimes, of course, as we have seen, an individual is more useful to the Party by remaining a nonmember, a sympathizer, or a fellow traveler. At other times, if the prospect seems to offer a fertile field of recruitment, pressure is applied. Thousands of Party members were recruited through the many fronts operating in the 1930's and 1940's.

Of special interest to the Party are young people. The Party's youth organizations, such as the Young Communist League and its successors, are largely recruiters of young people for communism. Many Party-sponsored activities—dances, parties, and picnics—are aimed to win the allegiance of boys and girls. Time after time members join as teen-agers—the age at which the Party would like to capture minds.

Many Party members have been recruited from communist homes, the children of Party members. In America today many hundreds of children, growing up in communist homes, are captives of this alien ideology. These youngsters are taught from the earliest years that God does not exist. One communist mother in a Northern state taught her children that God was not real. She said that it was fun to watch Superman on TV but that a person must recognize that he doesn't actually exist. It's the same way, she said, with God. In another city a communist father noticed a religious program on the family television set. He uttered a derogatory remark and turned off the program with the exclamation, "I'm a Marxist."

Party parents provide special Marxist instruction for their children. One father would sit down with his youngsters and discuss items appearing in the *Daily Worker*; another gave regular quizzes on Marxist literature; still another lectured on

Marxist economics every morning at the breakfast table. When the child grows up, he is given Party tasks: distributing literature, taking up collections at rallies, walking in picket lines. He begins to get the "feel" of Party life. In one instance a communist family gathered around a table and spent an hour or two in Party self-criticism and promising to do better. Party morality is constantly being inculcated in these youthful minds, a belief that whatever helps the Party is good, whatever hinders it is immoral. In one instance a communist father denounced a federal law that restricted the activities of the Party. His teen-age son, confused by the statement, pointed out that the Act was part of the law of the land. "Son," the father replied, "if a law is bad, you do not have to obey it."

No wonder many hundreds of recruits spring from communist homes as devotees of Marxism-Leninism.

Our experience has shown that reasons for joining the Party are many, varied, and complicated. Each individual has his own personal problems, hopes, and aspirations. Any attempt to apply generalized, ready-made stereotypes is to leave the problem unsolved. Moreover, we must try to see the *total man*; that is, all the forces, events, ideas, and motivations that brought about his tragic decision. For that reason each member deserves careful study. In the next chapter I shall discuss the reasons why members leave the Party. Here again we must understand each member as a human being, as an individual, always remembering that even though still a bigoted devotee he is convertible. Any thinking Party member will soon recognize the basic contradictions of communism.

We should be alert to help any communist back on the road to good American citizenship as soon as he shows the slightest indication that he is disillusioned with what he has found inside Party circles.

What lesson can we as a society learn from the Party's methods of recruitment? Most important, I think, is to realize that the Communist Party is attempting to exploit the rise of materialism, irreligion, and lack of faith in our society. In an era when moral standards have been lowered, when family life has been disrupted, when crime and juvenile delinquency

rates are high, communists have tried to set forth a goal-dressed in attractive phrases—that would captivate the longings and hopes of men and women. They have, in truth, tried to “steal” the nobility, the fervor, the enthusiasm of a free government under God.

## 9.

*Why People Break with Communism*

JUST AS IMPORTANT as knowing why people join the Communist Party is understanding why they leave. Here again, by recognizing the influences that cause them to reject this alien doctrine, we can do much to defeat the communist conspiracy.

Always we must keep in mind that communists, even hardcore members, potentially can be converted. To the individual who asserts, “Once a communist, always a communist,” I say: “No. Every communist can be made to see the errors of his way. He must not be despised, belittled, or rejected as hopelessly lost. He can redeem himself by actively taking a stand for freedom. Every patriotic American must do what he can to bring these persons to see the truth. The ex-communist is today one of our most potent weapons against communism.”

On September 9, 1957, the *Daily Worker* published a story which stated: “Joseph Clark has resigned from the *Daily Worker*, of which he was foreign editor, and from membership in the Communist Party.”

Clark was a Party member for twenty-eight years, always known as an ardent one. When Stalin died, Clark was his

paper's correspondent in Moscow. Yet, by his own current processes of thinking he saw the futility of the Party.

(Howard Fast, well-known communist author, was mentioned in the last chapter. After years of Party membership and thousands of words of communist propaganda, he quit. The revelations of Khrushchev about Stalin's murderous regime were too much. “The dimensions of this horror were not only beyond anything we could have dreamed of . . . I was filled with loathing and disgust.”

On the West Coast Barbara Hartle, because of her fiery energy and zeal, was recognized in Party circles as the outstanding woman communist in the Pacific Northwest. So active was she in Party circles that she was indicted, tried, and convicted under the Smith Act. But she, too, became disillusioned. Like Louis Budenz, Bella Dodd, Howard Fast, and Joseph Clark, she added her name to the growing list of communists who have said, “We've had enough. We're quitting.”

To understand why members break with the Party, let's examine the case of Barbara Hartle, who exemplifies the anguish of a Party official desperately seeking her way to freedom. Her experiences may enable members still in the Party to look into their own hearts. Are they being beset by the same doubts? Why have these doubts arisen? What is working to increase or to quell them?

On the other hand, Barbara Hartle's story will give the patriotic citizen an appreciation of the anguish experienced by Party members on their journey to freedom. He can learn to be understanding, patient, and helpful. He will see, for instance, how a sympathetic citizen helped Barbara free herself from communist entanglement.

On March 12, 1954, Barbara Hartle walked into the Seattle office of the FBI. She didn't need to identify herself. The previous October she, along with four other top Party leaders, had been convicted in Seattle under the Smith Act.

Barbara Hartle told her story: She had been graduated in 1929, Phi Beta Kappa, from Washington State College, major-

ing in English; then she went to Spokane, trying to find a job. Those were depression days and her story is all too typical. Hoping for a "better world," she began to read Karl Marx. Deeply impressed, she joined the Socialist, then the Communist Party. Her rise was rapid. Later she was transferred to Seattle where she occupied some of the highest Party positions in the Washington State organization. "I'll go to jail if I must," she once declared, "but I'll remain a communist."

One day in 1945 Barbara Hartle sat writing an article for the communist press. Earl Browder was on his way out as head of the communist movement. By force of habit she defended him. But Party experience taught otherwise. Foster was now the "boss." Confused by the sudden Party shift, she tore up the article.

Later, back on the Party line, she wrote another article supporting Foster. But something had happened. Out of this confusion, this "great surprise," as she termed it, of the Party switch, she seemed suddenly to have seen something new—that the Party was not what it claimed to be, but a fraudulent deception. To Barbara Hartle, as to many communists, doubt had come, an indication that the breath of freedom was still alive in her.

As in many such cases, this confusion and doubt quickly disappeared, swallowed up in the rush of Party life. In 1939 she had become disturbed by the Party's position on the Hitler-Stalin pact, but this also had passed. She soon became the same fanatical Barbara Hartle, attending meetings, issuing orders, making speeches.

Yet these doubts were to be followed by other doubts. Now she began, as she later explained, to become conscious of certain features of Party life that she had not previously noticed. She listed some of them:

1. The constant factional struggle for leadership.
2. The hand-picking of leaders from the top.
3. The arbitrary handling of funds by some of the top officials.
4. Finding the "self-criticism" of leaders to be mere "empty promises."

5. The "furious resistance" of Party leaders to criticism or guidance offered by rank-and-file members.
6. The expulsion of members by "rigged trials."

Like a searchlight, these doubts began to search out other doubts, inconsistencies, and contradictions. The fissure of doubt was widening.

Now Barbara was to experience a phenomenon that affects every Party member trying to break the communist spell: *the counterattack of the unconscious Party discipline.*

Doubts would suddenly arise, then disappear. They would arise again but again disappear. When she seemed to want to slow up in her Party work, her old enthusiasm would return. She found, as she later explained, that her "process of mental reorientation was impeded by the study and teaching of Marxist-Leninist works, which is the Communist Party's antidote for such an eventuality."

Over a long period and through a slow process of constant discussion, schools, and self study the Communist Party builds a conscience of responsibility upon which it then relies to keep a member functioning, even though any real desire to do so has passed.

That's why the Party keeps stressing Marxist-Leninist education: Party schools, reading the communist press, self-study. It builds up a discipline that automatically attacks doubts, rationalizes contradictions inside the Party structure, and guides every decision in the Party's favor.

Then, in mid-1950, an important event occurred for Barbara Hartle. She received instructions to attend a secret meeting in Woodland Park, Seattle. There she was told to change her name, leave Seattle, and enter the Party's underground. For the next two years she lived under assumed names in various Washington State and Oregon cities.

The unending hustle and bustle of everyday Party activity ceased. As she sat in a lonely room or stood on a dark street corner waiting for an underground meeting, she now had time

in a Party meeting. "People literally moved their chairs away from me. I walked out of the meeting and never attended a Communist Party meeting again."

More and more intellectuals are realizing that the Party is simply exploiting their prestige and talents, without trusting them. Intellectuals are encouraged to think, if they think the "right" way; but any independent thinking is not allowed. That is why, in the final analysis, the Party keeps the pressure on its members who are intellectuals. It fears that they might start thinking for themselves. As one intellectual stated, "I think that the Party was using me, as they were many other intellectuals. . . . I always had the feeling that they never trusted intellectuals beyond a certain limit. . . ."

2. *The inability to live a normal life.* Closely allied is the impossibility of living as a decent human being. One member said he resented the Party's constantly demanding his time. There was no end of assignments: distributing literature, attending meetings, getting petitions signed. Another member complained that she was "sick and tired" of her husband's putting the Party before her and the children. The Party's instructions must always take precedence. This constant stealing of time, never allowing the member to relax, develop a hobby, or enjoy a family, provokes the most searching doubts.

3. *The Party's callous disregard of members' personal problems.* A Party official's wife was sick. He asked for time off. It was refused. Or, a member's home must be mortgaged in a fund drive. And if he cannot make payments, it's his hard luck. Again, an old-time member was sent underground. He was instructed to change his name, sell his car and personal belongings, leave his wife and not contact her. He asked Party permission to visit his family. The answer: no. He came home anyhow and was severely disciplined.

No wonder more and more members are asking, "Why continue to be exploited?"

4. *Discrepancy between Party practices and claims.* As we have seen, many members join in the mistaken belief that the Party will improve some social evil, such as racial inequality or inadequate housing. "It is frankly recognized in Communist theory," one disillusioned old-timer confessed, "that the whole strategy is not for the main purpose of Negro liberation, but for the purpose of the proletarian revolution." "My dissatisfaction with the Party and my break with the Party came about through a gradual process as a result of the realization that Party policy was a detriment to true trade unionism."

Like Barbara Hartle, dubious communists see the internal squabbles and feuds, rigged elections, trumped-up evidence, the striving to be little commissars. Party leaders stay in fancy hotels or take vacations, while rank-and-file members are hounded to donate the last dollar. All this is disillusioning, especially in an organization that claims to be working for a just society.

5. *Communist tyranny in Russia and behind the Iron Curtain.* The sensational revelations of Khrushchev concerning the crimes of Stalin rocked the Party apparatus. Then came indisputable evidence of anti-Semitism in Russia, and in November, 1956, the capping blow, suppression of Hungary by Soviet troops, the spectacle of a self-proclaimed leader of "people's rights" physically strangling a people's demand for liberty.

This caused Howard Fast to strike violently at the Party that could give birth to "the explosive and hellish revelations of the Khrushchev 'secret report'" when he said:

I felt a sense of unmitigated mental nausea at the realization that I had supported and defended this murderous bloodbath, and I felt, as so many did then, a sense of being a victim of the most incredible swindle in modern times.

About Hungary: "From Hungary and its tragedy we learned of a new kind of socialism—socialism by slaughter and terror."

No wonder Fast laments, "A life-long structure of belief has shattered around me."

Another member who had been in the Party almost twenty years told our agents that she was quitting. If what happened in Russia, as revealed by Khrushchev, was true, she wanted "no part" of it. Still another member with over twenty-five years in the movement admitted that Soviet intervention in Hungary brought things to a head for him. If he were in Hungary, he said, he would be a Freedom Fighter.

Every abrupt change in the Party line, such as the 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact or the 1945 ousting of Browder, jars many members. However, no event in Party life has been so conducive to raising doubts among members as the Khrushchev report and its sequel.

6. *Communist opposition to religion.* Member after member has related that the Party's claims that God doesn't exist and that religion is a myth have raised doubts. Many members carry within their hearts the influence of religious training received while they were young. They inwardly rebel at a materialist solution to life.

Then there is the protest against the Marxist doctrine, which, in the words of one former member, "purports to reduce man's problems and destiny to an economic formula." In deeply emotional terms he added, "I want my children to approach their world and the history behind it, with the curiosity and objectivity it takes to learn. I do not want them to feel that the questions are answered, that this or that little system is the slide rule for answering all their questions."

These, then, are some of the reasons why doubts concerning communism arise in members' minds. Why do many still hesitate to break with the Party? The answer: They are still under the influence of false fears.

1. *Fear of the FBI.* One member, when interviewed by the FBI, expressed amazement at the cordial treatment accorded him. "I thought you fellows would drag me from my house."

Communists for years have poured scorn and contempt on the FBI. They try to paint our agents as brutal thugs in the hope of driving a wedge between their members and the government. One lightly placed member, visited by the FBI, turned what was expected to be a fifteen-minute interview into a five-hour discussion; during which he said, "The Party considers the FBI its prime enemy and Party members are expected to denounce the FBI." The FBI wants sincerely to help these individuals. They should feel free to counsel with us. Members can be assured that they will be cordially received, not embarrassed, and that their information will be kept strictly confidential, should they so request or if there is good reason to protect their identity.

2. *Fear of being a "stool pigeon."* This false belief, inspired by Party discipline, is today keeping many lost souls silent. Our agents asked one Party member, "Suppose a criminal gang kidnaped one of your children. What would you do?" The answer: "Call the FBI." "Would you want the FBI to make inquiries to locate the youngster?" "Yes." "Would you expect citizens having pertinent knowledge of this criminal conspiracy to give that information to the FBI?" "Certainly," he said.

The communist member furnishing information to the FBI is also doing his moral and patriotic duty in helping crush a criminal conspiracy. To remain silent is to assist the Party. Communism, like a criminal gang, thrives when people able to combat it refuse to do so. "Stool pigeon" is a Party-defined term used as a weapon to enforce communist discipline. The Party is enabled to reach into men's minds, censor their thoughts and words, and thereby buttress tyranny.

3. *Fear of personal safety and reputation.* Some members fear the rabid hatred that the Party spews out at members leaving the movement. A West Coast communist, though disillusioned, didn't break with the Party. He feared that his communist friends would ostracize him. Finally, though hesi-

tantly, he said he was now willing to "risk" being with the majority of Americans!

Party members should not fear the hostility of their former Party associates. To be denounced by communists is an honor. Remember, the example of a Party member breaking with the Party may influence others to do likewise.

4. *Fear of disgracing their families.* Many members trapped in the Party dread that their loved ones will know of their involvement. One man, asked if his wife and children knew of his communist background, began to cry. Another said he would do anything to keep his young son from knowing. Not long ago our agents contacted a Party member. "Don't talk to me at home," she said. "I don't want the children to know. Call me on the phone." Her wishes were respected.

To remain silent is not to improve the situation. There is no way in which such cooperation will injure the family. One member, very thankful that he had cooperated with the FBI, said he was happily married and simply would not allow his communist background to injure his innocent family.

5. *Fear of not being received as a loyal American.* The answer lies largely with the Party member himself. It is within his power alone to break completely with communism. He will be judged by his actions, not alone by his words. The biblical advice holds true: "... by their fruits ye shall know them."

In addition, patriotic Americans must do their share to help these Party members. Many are driven back into Party tyranny by the inexcusable ignorance, rancor, and pride of noncommunists. Moreover, it does not help when the truly reformed communist is characterized as a "renegade" and "traitor"—terms which would normally be used by communists themselves and not by good Americans.

In November, 1953, I wrote an article entitled "Breaking the Communist Spell," which appeared in *This Week* magazine. It was an appeal to members disillusioned with commu-

nism to step forward and help in the fight against Soviet tyranny. The response was encouraging. In an Eastern city a caller said he had read the article and wanted to give information about Party activities. Another person told our agents, "It's never easy to tell such a story . . . Then I saw an appeal by J. Edgar Hoover in a recent magazine article and after reading it several times felt that I should make a special effort to remember and pull what I could into order."

I want to set forth again the salient portions of this article. It seems to sum up what we have been trying to say on this most important subject:

The individual contributions of former members of the Communist Party to the security of our way of life are shining examples of people who have recognized their mistakes and are doing all within their power to rectify them.

If, having knowledge of persons and activities detrimental to his country, he breaks from the Party, yet maintains silence, he is still aiding the enemy. The moral obligation involved cannot be met by silence. The choice is simple: *help the United States*. The man who does this is preserving freedom under law. He is protecting the American way of life for free men and women—including his family and himself.

These people deserve the nation's respect, and their neighbors' fair-minded forgiveness for their past devotion to Communism. Their means of livelihood must be protected, and loyal Americans must accept their sincere repentance as a return to the full scope of citizenship. All great religions teach that the sinner can always redeem himself. Who, then, shall sit in judgment on the ex-Communist? Who dare deny him the promise held out to those who repent of the evil they have done and who try to make amends?

For our part, at the FBI, we have always sought to recog-

in hospital waiting rooms, hatching their plots in casual, conversational tones.

The third man is the Party organizer, a paid official who serves as the group's leader. He sits in a chair in the corner; the others form a rough semicircle. He speaks quietly but in a commanding tone, acting the dictator that he actually is.

"Joe," he says, addressing the first man to arrive, "you remember the last time we met you were given an assignment to collect three to five thousand sheets of paper, a Mimeograph machine, and some ink. How did things go?"

"Fine," Joe replies. "I bought four thousand sheets of paper. Got them at three different stores."

"Good," says the organizer, "that's using your head."

"I also bought a Mimeograph machine and plenty of ink. Everything's safe now in the right place." (The "right place" refers to an apartment in another section of the city occupied by a concealed communist, which the Party uses as a secret hideout.)

"One thing more," Joe says. "I've made inquiries about a portable printing press. It's pretty old, but it'll work."

"Fine," the organizer says, obviously pleased. "Follow that through. You took the serial numbers off the Mimeograph, didn't you?"

"No, I didn't," stammers the comrade. "I forgot..."

"Forgot!" explodes the organizer. "What's wrong with you? That's just plain stupid. Joe, this is serious business. You've got to keep alert. Someday this machine may be used to print secret Party instructions. We can't afford to have it traced. Take off all identification marks at once."

Then turning to another man, the one who had parked his car around the corner, the organizer says, "Phil, how are things coming at the plant? Making any progress on getting Bill installed as shop steward?"

"No, not much. Things look pretty bad." The man shifts his legs. He is a big fellow, weighing over two hundred pounds. "Looks like we're blocked."

"Nonsense," snaps the organizer, "we've gone over that before. There's always a way. Communists never give up."

You've got things good. You're at home enjoying life. Remember Lenin, exiled from Russia, going from town to town. He didn't quit, and look what he did. He was a genius. What's the big problem, Phil?"

"It's Red, the union president. He knows Bill is a communist and he's fighting him. Red is smart, he knows the ropes. He's always been a hard worker for labor unions. He's got a clean record and he's liked by the members. As long as Red is president, we're in a bad fix."

"That's the wrong attitude, Phil. If one thing won't work, try another. Can't we accuse him of something? Have you gone over his past life? Hasn't he ever done anything wrong?"

"If he has, we can't find it. He's a straight shooter from 'way back and he really hates communists."

"Phil, this is your Number One assignment," the organizer says. "You get something on Red. He's got to be discredited. Maybe we can make up some letters, mail them in another city, accuse him of working against the union. You figure out the details."

The organizer goes around the circle to the other members. Are they carrying out their assignments? Ethel, the draftsman's wife, thinks she will soon be elected an officer in a downtown women's group.

"Wonderful," says the organizer. "Don't rush things too fast but try to get some of the women to write letters to Washington. Let them say the FBI is a Gestapo; that they're violating civil liberties by arresting Party leaders. That's good, Ethel."

"They haven't the slightest idea I'm a communist." She laughs. "I'm working hard at it." The other woman, the last one to arrive, reports her activities as secretary of a communist-front organization.

The organizer, wanting the meeting to be short, speaks a few words about "new things" in the Party: A pamphlet from national headquarters has just been received and should be bought by all; finances are not in good shape; a new Party school is going to be held next month. Ethel should attend.

Shortly after nine o'clock the meeting is over, and as quietly as they have come the members slip out into the night.



This Communist Party club is representative of many hundreds throughout the nation. Night after night, week after week, these men and women are plotting against America, working out smears, seeking to discredit free government, and planning for revolution. They form the base of a gigantic pyramid of treason, stretching from the little gray house with green shutters to the towers of the Kremlin.

#### **The Communist Constitution (18th version, 1957)**

At least in theory the Communist Party, USA, is based on a "constitution," which sets forth the group's organizational structure. That constitution, being a public document, is filled with typical Aesopian language. The Party member, for example, isn't fooled when the constitution proclaims, "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights . . ." He knows better. His Marxist training enables him to recognize the Party's real aim:

The Communist Party seeks to advance the understanding of the working class in its day-to-day struggles for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism. (Preamble)

Here is the key, "*historic mission*." What does it mean? Not something traditional, respectable, or patriotic, but the overthrow of this government by force and violence. Engels talked about the "historic mission" of "the proletariat," which "can only free itself by doing away once for all with class dominion, subjugation, and exploitation." That, in communist terminology, means revolution. The Communist International spoke of the Party's "historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Today's communists, with deceitful double talk, are attempting to camouflage the true meaning of this old and well-defined revolutionary term. Comrades in the early 1920's weren't quite so squeamish about their intentions. The Party's constitution (1921) proclaimed the communist purpose:

. . . to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society. (Article I, Section 2)

Regardless of current communist claims, "historic mission" is the Party's linguistic description of its revolutionary intent.

The National Convention, according to the constitution, is the highest authority in the Party. This convention, normally held every two years, is composed of delegates "elected" by state or district conventions. The National Convention, after hearing "discussions" of the various issues, is authorized to make decisions binding upon the entire membership.

These affairs have the trappings of big-time conventions. Various committees are chosen, resolutions adopted, and speeches given. Proceedings are secret, although communists say they have nothing to hide. Members of the legitimate press are excluded. Exploiting this blackout of news, the communists often issue slanted press releases in an effort to influence public opinion. Another tactic is to allow the attendance of selected noncommunists, persons carefully hand-picked wherever possible, who the Party hopes will later make favorable reports.

Extensive preparations are made for the National Convention. Party officials as a general rule work up a "draft program," a summary of proposed Party aims on current issues, national and international. This "draft program" is widely circulated, with members being asked to discuss indicated approaches. Then, theoretically, the convention, based on the opinions developed, adopts a final program. Actually, in practice, the draft program represents a technique whereby the leadership "sells" the membership the ideas it wants to stress. Frequently, convention reports, resolutions, and speeches, properly edited, are later published. They serve as policy guides for the membership.

Never forgotten are Soviet trimmings. Proudly read on the floor of the Sixteenth National Convention (February 9-12, 1957) were greetings from the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Other Communist Parties in China, Canada, Italy, Japan, and Czechoslovakia also sent "best wishes." From these, members gain a sense of communist solidarity, or, in Party language, *proletarian internationalism*, the feeling that they are integral parts of the world-wide communist movement. This is one of the driving forces of modern-day communism: the Party-promoted idea that no member is alone, that he is part of a vast movement which, in communist eyes, is destined to conquer the world. Singing the "Internationale," the communist marching song, also engenders this feeling.

### The Three Levels of Power

The Party's organizational structure may be likened to layers in a pyramid, one placed on top of the other.

1. The top level centers around national headquarters and contains the Party's policy-making organs: (1) *National Committee*; (2) *National Executive Committee*; and (3) *National Administrative Committee*. With ruthless hand this echelon rules the Communist Party, USA. The designation given here is the current arrangement, which is always subject to change. The Party never hesitates to reshuffle its top administrative bodies, changing their names and sizes. For many years, for example, it had national officers: National Chairman, William Z. Foster, and General Secretary, Earl Browder and, later, Eugene Dennis. The power remains, however, in the hands of a small minority.

2. The second or middle level contains the many administrative organs that implement the decisions of the inner hierarchy: (1) *various commissions and departments*; (2) *special organizers*; and (3) *front groups*.

3. The bottom or third level is broad and extensive and contains all the subordinate regional and local units in the Party: that is, *district organizations*, and, in turn, various *state*,

*county, city, section, and club setups*. This level encompasses the entire nation.

National headquarters is located in a three-story, twenty-foot-wide, brownstone building at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, just off Broadway. A pygmy amid Manhattan's towering skyscrapers, with iron bars shielding the bottom-floor windows, this American Kremlin is the symbol of communist power in our country. Here meetings are held and important decisions made. The national office occupies the third floor and penthouse; the New York State Communist Party is on the first and second floors. However, the 1957 Party convention authorized shifting national offices to Chicago.

### Level 1: The High Command

The real power of the Party rests in the *National Committee*. This committee, "elected" by the national and state conventions, is responsible for running the Party between conventions as provided by the constitution:

Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the authority to make decisions and take actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between Conventions. (Article V, Section 9)

This provision covers a multitude of possibilities and forms the basis for the dictatorship of a few leaders, in typical communist style. The National Committee is America's Politburo, a small group of some sixty individuals directing war against noncommunist institutions.

Minority control is strengthened still more by clever manipulation. The current National Committee elected a twenty-member National Executive Committee, which in turn selected administrative officials. In actual practice, the latter group is the dominant power, making day-to-day decisions. There is no free election of the membership. With members of the

because of the preliminary "free discussion of issues" and "right of election"; it is "centralism" because once a decision is made, the discipline of the Party enforces the decision. This is the ideal type of organizational structure, say the communists.

The tyranny and dictatorship that are part and parcel of the Communist Party are laid down by the rule: all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies, and the highest of all are the Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which are run by the Kremlin.

A practical demonstration of democratic centralism at work recently occurred in New York City. As we have mentioned, a campaign was launched to circulate a petition to put Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee, on the ballot as candidate for the New York City Council. Although the 1957 National Convention of the Party emphasized that Party members could dissent from official Party policy, William Weinstone, another member of the National Committee, issued the order that "Those members who may not agree with this campaign should nevertheless understand that it is their duty to participate in signature getting."

We in the FBI, through confidential sources of information, know what goes on in hundreds of these meetings. We know who the speakers are, what they say (and don't say), what decisions are made. These "free discussions" would be amusing but for the deadly malady they highlight: a ruthless thought control.

Communist members learn what to think, how to vote, what to say by a process of "automatic osmosis"—the seeping of predigested thoughts along the Party line into all subordinate minds, disciplined to accept. The members become ideological sleepwalkers, drugged into complete obedience by an unconscious discipline.

Sometimes, absurd as it may seem, secret ballots are used. Members go through all the motions of argument, taking a vote, nominating and electing officers. They become excited, waving their arms, pounding desks, shaking their fists. You would think there was open opposition. But that is merely part

of the show. Communist thought control, operating through Party ranks, is a terrifying spectacle, freezing into fixed rigidity the mental processes of thousands.

Seen in its true light, democratic centralism is a deceptive cloak dropped over a ruthless dictatorship.

Sometimes a member, somehow or other, does not fathom the Party line. He says something out of step. He is simply "ill-informed" and needs more "education." A Party school or a conference will probably bring him back to his "right senses."

Occasionally a stubborn member will persist in criticism. That takes courage. He is made of metal the communist thought-control machine has not yet melted. He carries the fight to higher Party bodies. But he can't win and out he goes.

In one instance a member was accused of falling down on the job. The section organizer recommended that he be removed from both his Party office and the county executive committee.

"He's irresponsible," stormed one old-time comrade, "and in the Soviet Union irresponsibles are not voted out of office—they are shot!"

That's democratic centralism, the organizational principle that has welded the Communist Party, USA, into a terrible instrument poised and eager to destroy this country if given the opportunity.

Florida. Their full-time job is to advance the communist cause. The Party employs women functionaries, especially on the lower levels. During World War II, when many male comrades were drafted, a number of Party offices were run by women.

Salaries vary, depending on the size and location of assignment, but they average fifty to seventy dollars weekly. As a general rule, officials are paid by the local organization, although the national office, in case of a deficit, may step in with cash. Some functionaries operate on an expense account, especially if they travel.

The communist official will probably live in a modest neighborhood. His wife will patronize the corner grocery store, his children attend the local school. If a shoe store or a butcher shop is operated by a Party member, the official will probably get a discount on his purchases.

Most Party officials drive cars, usually older models. They are generally out late at night attending meetings. A car is essential for transportation and carrying literature. Except for special affairs, communist activity is slight early in the morning. The organizer, coming in around midnight or one o'clock, will sleep late. But that doesn't mean all day. One Southern official was severely censured for sleeping too late; to solve the problem the Party bought him an electric alarm clock.

Functionaries eat away from home a great deal. They generally are well versed on "cozy" places where they can talk with a minimum of observation. Much Party business is conducted at luncheon appointments. Their wives are also engaged in Party work, and often both are away from home night after night. "Home," to the communist organizer, is more a place to sleep than to enjoy restful relaxation.

If a Party convention is to be held, and many out-of-town delegates are coming in, the organizer may turn his apartment into a temporary hotel. He will pull out all the spare cots, beds, and blankets and "put up" a half-dozen visitors.

The paid official's job is to keep the Party going, to see that everybody has something to do, that meetings are scheduled, that money is collected, that the Party's program is carried

out. He may start his day around ten-thirty or eleven o'clock with a "staff" conference at headquarters. There he will discuss the day's agenda with other officials, give or receive orders, and get squared away for the day's work.

The organizer must be a fairly intelligent man with an ability to get along with people. He is always asking for something: Can you deliver papers, how about attending this class, making a speech? He must know how to overcome fears, suspicions, and laziness, and encourage members to work. He may, for example, approach a member for a donation: "We need five hundred dollars. Sell your car and donate the money." Communists come up with all kinds of schemes. The organizer must go out and "sell" the idea.

He also spends a great deal of time smoothing out personal problems. In one case a communist "love triangle" erupted. A young Party member, even though married, decided that she loved another member's husband. The man's wife, however, was determined to fight. The problem reached such bitterness that the trio's Party work began to suffer. There was little hope of solving it by themselves. So the state chairman stepped in.

He talked to them personally. They poured out their inner feelings. The young woman and her "lover" requested Party approval for a divorce. A few days later the wife, with fire in her eyes, told the state chairman she wanted three months' leave of absence from the Party to regain the love of her husband. A regular free-for-all was brewing. The Party, however, exerted pressure and the situation was settled. No divorce was approved. The organizer must be ready at any hour to settle everything, from a hair-pulling contest to the distribution of an estate.

For most members the Party is their whole life. If any problems arise, changing jobs, adopting a child, lawsuits, etc., they solve them with the Party's advice. If a member has a case of ulcers, the organizer will recommend a "Party doctor"; if somebody is threatening suit, he will suggest a "Party lawyer"; if one has lost his job, he might know somebody in the Party, perhaps the owner of a store, a union-shop steward, or an industrial executive, who will help out.

then went on to Chicago. When the communist finally met the lady of his choice, he went to a communist lawyer who arranged for an annulment of the second marriage on the ground that a prenuptial agreement to join the church had been violated.

The Party functionary can order members to resign from one job and accept another, to move from one town to another, to stop seeing their families and friends, to lie, cheat, or steal.

Then there is the problem of money. The functionary is always prodding. First, members must pay dues. They are collected monthly from each member and give the Party a substantial source of revenue. Payments of dues are based on regular schedules, depending on a member's income. Here is a sample schedule:

<i>Income Per Week</i>	<i>Dues Per Month</i>
Housewives .....	.50
Students .....	.50
Unemployed .....	.50
To \$80 .....	\$1.00
To \$110 .....	\$2.50
Over \$110 .....	\$5.00

Dues also serve another purpose: to control the member. The Party official can keep track of him, see if his interest is waning (if he doesn't want to pay), and also, if possible, determine how much money he actually has (which the Party can later extract). If he falls behind in payments, the financial secretary will be right after him.

Another related obligation is to donate money (besides paying dues). Every member *must* pay, and pay until it hurts. The Party conducts an annual fund drive, involving the whole membership. Goals are set for clubs, sections, regions, and on a national basis. A big celebration, perhaps a dance or a dinner, marks the "kick-off," and a definite conclusion date is established. During this period, say September 1 to October

15, a white heat of intensity is reached. The theme: "Money, money, money." No member, regardless of excuse, is spared. If the amount isn't reached, the campaign is extended.

How much should a member give? Usually a week's wages is the accepted minimum. If a comrade has extra sources of income, the amount will be higher.

The Party raises money, lots of it. In one fund drive alone, for example, national headquarters announced a collection of over 165,000 dollars. And the campaign was still not complete. The nickels and dimes (although communists say they like "folding money" best) soon add up. With the effectiveness of a vacuum cleaner, the Party pulls money from everywhere.

Laggards, renegades, and backsliders are pushed hard. "That's not enough. You're a piker," the Party organizer will scoff. Sections and clubs vie for "collection honors." The first state or district to reach its quota is enthusiastically hailed.

But that is not the end of "donations." Time after time there are assessments or special fund drives. They come like snowflakes in a winter storm. Party leaders have been arrested, they need help! (Defense Fund). The *Daily Worker* needs money—urgently! (Press Fund). The Party must have 100,000 dollars in thirty days! (Emergency Fund). An "emergency" is always stalking the Communist Party. The best way to solve it is money. The only thing better is more money. The cost to members: at least a day's pay for each special fund.

Fund drives do not exhaust the financial wizardry of the communists. Money is obtained in still other ways, such as Halloween parties, dances, waffle parties, going-away affairs, testimonial dinners, anniversaries (such as of the October Revolution in Russia or the birthday of Lenin). In most instances tickets are sold and, in addition, a collection may be taken up. Everything you have belongs to the Party. That's the philosophy.

One top leader explained how to obtain contributions. Visit the prospective victim. Take along an out-of-town comrade (he's the high-pressure expert) and a local member. The latter should have plenty of money with him. The prospective victim might say, "Yes, I'd like to contribute, but I haven't any money

now"—the easy way out. If so, the local comrade would interrupt and say, "Fine, I'll lend you the money. Would a hundred dollars be enough?" This squeeze always works, the leader said. Blank checks are also carried.

To show how far money-raising can go, one member dreamed up the idea that bodies of deceased comrades should be sold for medical experimentation. The Party would gain doubly: first it demanded the fee for the cadaver and then the money ordinarily spent for the burial. Another member suggested that gifts no longer be given at "stork" showers for expectant mothers. This money should be donated to the Party.

Then there are extra revenue sources. At the end of World War II, Party officials requested comrades returning from military service to donate part of their bonus money. In many instances they set the actual amount. If the member didn't comply, he might be disciplined.

Estates are also juicy morsels. If members, or maybe sympathizers, have any extra money, the Party urges that wills be executed naming the Party or certain functionaries as beneficiaries. Large sums are thus often gained.

Some years ago a former Episcopal bishop died in Ohio. Years before, during an illness, he had started reading Marx and other communist books. Then he turned author and wrote a book entitled *Communism and Christianity*, wherein he expressed doubt that Christ had ever lived, and asserted that he had "found Christ via Karl Marx." The bishop was given a trial by his church and deposed. Following his death, his will provided that the residue of his estate, valued at between 300,000 and 400,000 dollars, was to go to a corporation whose trustees were to devote all or any part of it to the cause of communism as "propagated by Karl Marx."

Another communist sympathizer in Oregon a few years ago received more than 100,000 dollars upon the death of a son. A communist friend persuaded the sympathizer to bequeath a part of his estate to two West Coast communists.

A Party member died in Massachusetts in 1953, leaving a

14,000-dollar bank account and real estate to the Party, naming three Party officials as executors of his will.

Over the years the Party has been blessed by angels and foundations whose money was made through the American free enterprise system and is then used in an attempt to destroy the system that made wealth and affluence possible.

In years past, each member was given a membership card or book (which was numbered) on which he could paste his "dues stamps," showing that he was current on this obligation. But today, for security reasons, this practice is no longer followed. Membership records, if kept, are carefully concealed, and only a trusted few know their whereabouts. Sometimes elaborate code, color, and tab combinations are used on such records to indicate the name, occupation, sex, length of Party service, etc., of the members.

To join the Communist Party does not automatically mean life tenure. Memberships must be renewed every year or, in communist language, members are "reregistered." This represents another means of control. If a member is delinquent in dues or donations, he'll have to pay a penalty, perhaps contribute ten dollars, or be disciplined. These annual registration drives are important events in Party life. Each member is personally contacted. Clubs and sections compete for speed and percentage of successful registration. The drives usually start in October and often extend well past the December 31 deadline.

A member moves. His district organization will send details concerning him to his new area: name, Party history, whether dues are paid, along with any other remarks. A member may be given half of a dollar bill and the other half forwarded to the new district. When the member arrives, the halves are matched. Identity is thus established.

So it goes, a constant round of rushing, driving, pushing, paying, never time to stop. The member is regimented from life to death. His chief obligation: to follow instructions eagerly, energetically, obediently. He is a mere wisp of living matter, born, as a *Daily Worker* birth announcement proclaimed, "for swelling our ranks."

This complete absorption in the Party creates an exhilaration that warps judgment. One comrade became so wrought up over the supposed superiority of communist culture that he cited statistics that the Soviet soldier in World War II was an inch taller and had a chest one and a half inches larger than his Czarist counterpart!

Such fervor sounds laughable, but it is symptomatic of paranoiac behavior. To an individual like this, any communist achievement surpasses anything American. This bigoted communist fanaticism drives members to mortgage their homes, spend years in underground shelters, and betray their native land.

Even in death a member may become a pawn to enhance the Party. The passing of a prominent comrade invariably is the occasion for a "state funeral." The departed member is now a valuable showpiece and his passing is exploited to the fullest extent. On such occasions the deceased lies in state on the day of the funeral, with "mourners" passing the bier. A large, blown-up photograph of the deceased, draped in black, hangs at the rear of the stage. An honor guard of from two to four comrades stands at attention wearing red armbands.

There is seldom a religious quality to the music, eulogies, or the "mourners'" conduct. At the "state funeral" of Mother Ella Reeve Bloor in 1951 the "mourners" talked, laughed, and smoked.

The eulogies are numerous and recount the contributions made by the deceased to the Communist Party, to the advancement of socialism, and state how the Party can learn from the life of the departed. At Mother Bloor's funeral in New York City, for example, Pettis Perry, a member of the National Committee, said:

This is not farewell to you, Mother Bloor. We pledge to follow in your footsteps . . . We will build your Party and our Party and some day we will have a nation and a society built on the brotherhood of man . . .

At the funeral of Peter V. Cacchione, an elected member of the New York City Council, nineteen speakers delivered

eulogies. Gilbert Green, then chairman of the Party in Illinois, speaking for the National Committee, observed that the deceased fell in the struggle as "a soldier in the cause of human freedom," and vowed that the remaining comrades would take "the banner from his hands."

After such services a cortege of automobiles laden with mourners journeys from the funeral hall to the cemetery. As Mother Bloor was lowered into her grave at Harleigh Cemetery in Camden, New Jersey, Walter Lowenfels, then the Philadelphia correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, read Walt Whitman's poem, "The Mystic Trumpeter."

At the Cacchione interment Henry Winston, a member of the National Committee, delivered these parting words, "We are confident, as you were, dear Pete, in ultimate victory . . . We will carry out your heritage."

Through it all runs the hope, not of life everlasting, but of communism everlasting—if the members can be stirred up to work harder.

## 12.

### *Making Communist Man*

IN THE LAST CHAPTER we examined life in the Party—the constant hustle, collecting of dues, registration of members, holding of conferences, issuing of instructions.

These activities, however, have a meaning more sinister than just keeping the Party going, a meaning that we overlook at our peril. It is this: the Party is a vast workshop where the member is polished and shined, his impurities melted out, his loyalty to communism strengthened. He is made into *communist man*.

graphed, they deal with all phases of the Party's program. Sample titles are "Lenin and Our Party," "World Significance of the Events in China," "New Members Session and Introduction in the Communist Party," and "Farmers in the Coalition."

Amazing attention is shown to detail. In advanced classes members will have homework and examinations. As part of the instruction, classes often are given practical "field work." Students in one Midwestern school were dismissed, divided into teams, and sent to industrial plants to distribute Party literature. That evening they reassembled to discuss their experiences and receive ideas on how better to do the job.

The longer one stays in the Party, the more specialized are the classes he attends. The goal, of course, is to be selected to attend a national leadership school. This means going to New York City or a Party camp and staying several weeks. Students probably will not know the true names of their fellow students; they'll remember them as Sam (an alias), the man with the crooked arm, the redheaded girl who talked so much, the old man with the green shirt. That's part of the Party's security program.

The communist educational system is extremely practical: training members to do what the Party needs. Perhaps more Mimeograph operators are needed; then there'll be a Mimeograph school. Maybe more dues secretaries are needed; then there'll be a dues secretaries' school. All the time, through training, the member is being pulled more closely under Party discipline.

#### Home Study

Another indoctrination technique is self- or home study. Going to school is important, but at best it can be for only an hour a day or several weeks a year. More study is needed to bind the member to the Party.

One Party directive puts it this way:

Every Communist must read and study the classics of our

literature, past and present. Everyone must rigorously enforce the slogan, "One night a week for Marxist study."

Communists may be busy or deeply involved in other Party work. But they must also carry on self-study or, as the communists call it, *ideological self-cultivation* or *raising the ideological level of the member*. This means daily readings in the communist bible—the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. (Following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin, the late dictator's works were appreciably de-emphasized in Party study programs.) This is not something optional; it is an absolute requirement. To study the communist "masters," says the Party, is to be made "perfect" as they were "perfect"—and incidentally to make members work harder selling papers, collecting dues, and handing out leaflets.

In the final analysis this communist education, like all phases of the Party's program, is geared to *revolutionary action*. "It is for the Party and for the victory of the revolution that we study." The Party isn't training its members just for fun. Each one must be steeled, hardened, and purified of his capitalist "scum," "filth," and "dirt." The new member was born and reared under capitalism and, in communist eyes, therefore he is infected with "selfishness," "intrigue," "class attitudes." "Is it anything strange," one communist writer asks, "that there are muddy stains on a person who crawls out of the mud . . . ?"

These stains must be washed off. It's a lifetime job. Non-Party or "capitalist" attitudes keep cropping out. Some have been inherited, others newly acquired from capitalist contamination. That's why even old-time members keep attending school. It's like cleaning a skillet that tarnishes. Constant scrubbing (more indoctrination) is needed to make and keep the member ideologically pure.

Communist education is constantly seeking to destroy the "remnants of bourgeois ideology," the undigested lumps of independence not yet crushed by communist thought control. That is the gnawing fear of all communist regimes: that an undigested lump will be missed, that somewhere lying un-



detected is a member who has not been completely indoctrinated. This individual is a potential enemy who may someday rise against his masters.

The Party has a term, *political maturity*, to signify the member who has been so indoctrinated that, as a matter of sixth sense, he will always know the Party line.

#### Party Literature

The Party's literature program (comprising newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books) is a companion to Party schools and self-study in helping to create communist man. These publications, regardless of their form, tell but one story, the Party's story. The member must believe no other. For this purpose the Party is operating a multihundred-thousand-dollar propaganda machine.

Inside the Party the refrain is constantly heard: Buy our literature. "Got a nickel, mister? Try this pamphlet." "You don't want to miss our paper." "Here, subscribe to *Political Affairs*" (the Party's monthly theoretical magazine). The pressure is terrific. Party-operated bookstores and newspaper carrier routes distribute a steady stream of Party literature, as do the clubs themselves.

"We probably circulate more literature per member of our organization by ten times," one former Party leader said, "than any other organization in existence."

The Party's chief newspaper is the *Daily Worker* (and its week-end edition, *The Worker*), published in New York City. On the West Coast it's the *People's World* (a weekly published in San Francisco).

Don't think of the *Daily Worker* in terms of your own daily newspaper. It is strictly a propaganda organ. A tabloid with bold, black headlines, its "news" stories, editorials, book reviews, even its sports columns, are slanted to promote the Party's views.

For example, *Daily Worker* sports writer Lester Rodney, in his column "On the Scoreboard," praises "the phenomenal and growing successes of the Soviet Union in the world of sports."

He says, "... the answer is socialism. If Russians were just so all-fired hot as Russians, where were all their champion teams and athletes under the Czar?"

In obvious glee Rodney writes: "So fellow sports lovers, this socialism deserves a little open-minded study, at least, that's clear. (There's a fine school over on Sixth Ave. and 16th St. where you can study it if you're lucky enough to be a New Yorker.)" The Jefferson School of Social Science, a front school, was then located at this address.

And Rodney couldn't miss the chance for another propaganda plug:

Just one more thing and really the most important for today with all the "Soviet menace" hogwash. No matter what you may or may not think of their socialism, it is self-evident that a nation which loves to play and is turning out fine athletes in increasing numbers and building more and more sports fields is a nation which is thinking about peace and not war.

The *Daily Worker* serves as a unifier of policy, an organizer of action, and a Party builder. It is a public document. Hence, don't expect to find there Party secrets, such as the identities of underground officials or decisions of confidential meetings. However, for those who understand its double talk it provides a quick means to communicate the Party line. Moreover, it does not let the membership forget the identity of the Party's enemies and sometimes its friends. Like a vast searchlight, it gives direction to members, wherever they may be.

Day after day the *Daily Worker* drills a central theme into its readers: that life in the United States is terrible; that only in communist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, is life worth living at all.

The day's news is scanned for some incident to distort and use to browbeat the United States. Any action of the American government is always, somehow or other, part of a conspiracy to engulf the world in World War III. One rat in a tenement house becomes an army of rats devouring thousands of people. Pick out every weakness, real or imaginary. Stir up dissension. Try to weaken morale.

After Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin, the *Daily Worker* carried some criticism of Soviet Russia, for the most part pertaining to anti-Semitism and illegal arrests. Certain aspects of Russia's intervention in Hungary were also criticized. Highly novel for the *Daily Worker*, this criticism apparently reflected the personal views of John Gates, the editor. Gates, of all the top Party leaders, appeared to have been most affected by Khrushchev's revelations. He was severely attacked, however, by other Party officials, including William Z. Foster, and his resignation was demanded. Nevertheless, despite this limited criticism, the *Daily Worker* remained loyal to the over-all aims of Soviet Russia and continues to belittle, mock, and criticize American life.

This loyalty to things Russian has caused the *Daily Worker* to perform some interesting gymnastics. A good example was the famous "Doctors' Plot," early in 1953, just before Stalin's death. Moscow reported the arrest of nine doctors charged with plotting to kill high-ranking Soviet officials. "Moscow Nips Plot to Kill Army Chiefs," headlined *The Worker* (January 18, 1953), obviously happy. Then the doctors were suddenly released. Back-flipped *The Worker* with the greatest of ease: "The Case of the Soviet Doctors, How a Socialist State Protects Its Citizens" (April 12, 1953).

In March, 1953, *The Worker* reported Stalin's death. "STALIN: Man of Peace," "The Cobbler's Son Who Built a New World," "His Name and His Work Will Endure Through the Ages," "Stalin—Architect of a Working People's World." In 1956 the headlines shifted: "Lenin's Principles Abandoned by Stalin," "Minorities Were Exiled and Mistreated," "Says Stalin Unleashed Mass Terror 1936-1937." One writer headed his column: "Stalin Wasn't God—And We Weren't Angels."

Communists regard themselves as "apostles" of a new order living in "enemy-controlled" territory. Communists claim that the *Daily Worker* cuts through the "capitalist press" and its smog of "lies," "distortions," and "fakes," bringing "truthful information." This is the highest principle of a "free press."

The communist press, with its bigoted, perverted, single point of view, is a disturbing reality. It seeks the definite,

systematic, and mass indoctrination of the minds of men to trust only the Party. Truth becomes what a group of men say it is.

Here's an example of how "freedom of the press" works for the communists:

A Party leader hurried toward the building where a convention was being held. Just outside the door he paused. An individual was handing out leaflets urging the election of a slate opposed by the Party.

"That guy ought to be thrown out," the Party boss remarked to a companion. "He's nothing but a Trotskyite. He shouldn't be allowed around here."

Some time later the same two men were again attending a meeting. This time the *Daily Worker* was being sold outside. The companion objected, saying this wasn't a communist meeting.

"Uh," retorted the Party member. "This is a free country. You can't stop him from passing it out."

No wonder communism can operate only in the glow of book burnings. No opposite view can be tolerated. "Down with non-party writers!" Lenin demanded.

As an example, after Browder's "fall from power" in 1945, many of his books were burned. Shifts in the Party line also cause book burnings. One New England headquarters, caught in a Party shift, destroyed three barrels of literature. What is "true" today in the Party may not be "true" tomorrow.

Modern-day techniques of literature dissemination extend the tyranny of communist indoctrination. The Party wants mass readership. Always remember that the communists are practical, everyday agitators. Why publish something at a high price that few will buy? There are few fancy bindings, engravings, or pictures. Communist publishing firms have exploited the publication of pamphlet-form editions and paper-backed volumes, anything to gain circulation and spread the communist message.

Prices are now higher, but communist literature is today being sold for five, ten, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty-five cents. Even these prices are considered too high. "I do not

consider a five-cent pamphlet mass literature. We have to go back to mass penny literature . . .," one Party leader commented. Amazing circulations have been achieved. Editions of Lenin's *Imperialism and State and Revolution*, totaling 100,000 copies each and costing ten cents a copy, were issued. Other pamphlets were printed in editions totaling 307,000; 275,000; 350,000; 440,000.

Everything possible has been done to make available in English the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. A twelve-volume series of Lenin's *Selected Works*, over 6000 pages, sells for twenty-five dollars. Marx's *The Civil War in France* is offered for a dollar and fifty cents (cloth); paperback, twenty-five cents. The most important writings of Lenin are made available in the "Little Lenin Library" (for Marx it's the "Little Marx Library"), with prices ranging from five to ninety cents. Many foreign communist writings are also printed. During the period 1948-55, according to a report of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the writings of Lenin were more widely translated than the Bible, with Stalin's writings ranking third. Mention should also be made of communist-shop leaflets, neighborhood papers, and throwaways that are placed on doorsteps, thrown into parked cars, or scattered in buildings. Generally mimeographed, they represent an easy, cheap, and effective method of stirring up trouble.

The pressure is terrific—buy, buy, buy. Widely publicized campaigns to sell the *Daily Worker* are regular features of Party life. The more communist material a member reads, the less time he has for reading "capitalist propaganda."

#### Cultural Indoctrination

Even if a member faithfully went to school, studied at home, and read Party literature, he would still have spare time during which non-Party thoughts might seep in. That would never do.

Every facet of the member's life, even when he plays the piano, sings, goes to a movie, sees a painting, or reads a book, must be saturated with communism. Art doesn't exist for art's

sake. Art, as Lenin taught, is a weapon of the class struggle. "Culture" becomes an indoctrinal spray seeking to control every part of the member's heart, mind, and soul.

The member is subjected to a barrage of Russian, satellite, and native communist "cultural" propaganda. There are art exhibits, folk dances, theater groups, nationality bazaars. Many of these are carried on through front groups and hence not labeled as communist. The *Daily Worker* advertises Soviet movies, which are often shipped to Party units across the country. Short stories, novels, and poetry come in steady streams. Forums extol the virtue of Soviet life. Here, the communists say, is the new "people's culture," bringing the "real truth."

The theme is always the same: Russia and communism represent a new world of "hope," "promise," and "achievement," creating "communist man" in all his "remarkable spiritual qualities." The United States is a "weak," "decadent," and "sick" country, dominated by vulgar tastes, thievery, and debauched living. No wonder, according to the *Daily Worker*, the Soviet soldier in World War II spent his time reading Shakespeare and Tolstoy while the "uncultured" GI read assorted inferior trash!

The member is urged to read Soviet literature and see the "glorious" communist "hero" working his heart out for the regime. This "hero"—usually just an ordinary, plain fellow (like the member)—can repair a blast furnace in one day instead of the usual six to eight weeks. Why? For the glory of communism. Another "hero" is sad and disheartened. He has bungled his factory job. He wasn't doing his share. But a strong arm is around his shoulders, the arm of an experienced worker. He'll show the worker "hero" how to break production records, for communism—when in real life he might be headed for a slave labor camp.

Day after day this propaganda is dinned into the member. Children are included. The Party feels that the basic responsibility of indoctrinating the child lies with the communist parents. A member in Buffalo announced, for instance, that a class for children, aged five to seven, would be held in

the basement of her home. Ironically, it was called "Sunday school" because it was held on Sunday. But, the member added, this school was not to teach "the word of God or in any way teach religion." The instruction obviously would be directed to the fundamentals of Marxism.

Books are published for children. One, *Our Lenin*, is a story of Lenin's life, translated and adapted "for American children." In this an American worker is quoted: "It [the Soviet Union] will last forever, and we here will follow its example." It's a steady diet of propaganda.

Suppose the member wants to write, paint, or compose music? He, too, must follow the Party line. His work must promote communism.

Some of the writings are very crude, but they get across the Party line. Here's a poem that appeared in the *Daily Worker* shortly after Stalin's death, eulogizing the Soviet dictator:

He was melted in the open hearth of feudal czarist oppression  
 He was forged in the fire of revolution  
 His chemistry was the chemistry of struggle  
 And left him as pure as the hope of liberation  
 of the working class  
 He was alloyed with large masses of the Soviet  
 peoples and heaping shovelfuls of inter-  
 national brotherhood with just the right  
 amount of love for humanity to finally make—  
 A man of steel. . .

An artist wants to paint a flock of birds in a tree. That's silly, the Party says. There's no communist message. Here's how his idea can be improved.

Make one bird a white dove and, presto, you're right in line with the communist "peace" offensive. Another improvement: Put a mean-looking capitalist "warmonger" under the tree taking aim at the peaceful dove.

Just the name of the picture often gives a communist twist. A drawing of a sleeping child, cuddling her baby bear,

couldn't be labeled "Slumber." No propaganda there. "Too Hungry to Stay Awake" would be better, to show how people are starving in the United States. A young lady walking down the street smiling and confident isn't "Girl on a Stroll" but "Battler for Peace." The beauty and power of any work of art must be measured by "the degree to which it is permeated with the ideas of Communism." This is the way, the communists say, that the masses can be directed.

The Party, in the final analysis, has an interpretation for the whole of human life. Nothing is untouched: science, psychology, sex, love, care of children, literature, history, the origin and end of life. Everything must be absorbed. Communism is a unitary, all-embracing, and absolute system.

Not only the present but also the past must be controlled. Communist writers have already reinterpreted American history, claiming that the Party is today the true inheritor of the traditions of 1776. They seek to associate themselves with such men as Paine, Jefferson, and Lincoln, whom they identify as "advanced fighters" for the ideals that the communists claim they now represent. For example, the *Daily Worker* on Lincoln's Birthday in 1953 said, "Lincoln's heritage is carried forward mainly by the working class and its Marxist party."

In literature they seek to pervert such writers as Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, claiming, for instance, that Whitman's love of freedom is the story of their own aims. "... poet and prophet of a people's democracy" was the *Daily Worker's* salute.

The Party conducts an annual pilgrimage to Whitman's tomb in Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, New Jersey. Mother Bloor, the "old mother" of communism, made a fetish of her alleged friendship with Whitman.

Twain's life, a *Worker* article asserted, was an inspiration to fight against "imperialism and war."

Carried to its logical conclusion, this attitude creates different holidays, customs, and habits for the communists. Christmas, for example, is exploited for propaganda purposes; it is a time to send out cards for "peace," to urge amnesty for

communists in jail, to appeal for funds. It holds no religious significance for Party members. A communist America would celebrate the birth of Karl Marx rather than the birth of Christendom.

This constant saturation with communism, through Party education, literature, the press, and "culture," has had its effect in shaping communist man. A comrade writing in *Party Voice*, organ of the New York State Communist Party, frankly admitted what is happening:

I have no doubt that there are comrades in our movement who have not read a single American book outside of progressive literature in many moons but who can discuss in detail the latest Soviet book or periodical from China. . . . we have many comrades who have been brought up on Soviet culture and who are not familiar with the cultural life of our own people.

There are some comrades who never see an American film but confine their movie-going to nothing but foreign films. There are others who see only the decline and fall of American culture but fail to see what is new and growing.

So far has the creation of communist man gone that, in some instances, Party members are embarrassed to salute the American flag. The *Party Voice* comrade tells how embarrassed he felt as he hesitantly saluted the flag at a Memorial Day parade. "At times I looked up and down the street and hoped, inwardly, that none of my 'left' friends were looking at me." So great is the erosion of patriotism that the author even poses this question: "Should Communists know the verses of the Star-Spangled Banner?"

This is how communism is working to promote an alien way of life in America. The whole story, however, is still not told. How are all these facets of Party life held together? What gives a ruthless uniformity to Party actions? We must

now turn to a study of Party discipline, a system of terror that holds Party members in the grip of an unbelievable tyranny.

## 13.

*Communist Discipline*

IN COMMUNIST EYES the processes of education, the press, and "culture," which we considered in the last chapter, are not enough for molding the revolutionary. Important as they are, they must be supplemented by *communist discipline*, a discipline that enforces uniformity, ensures Party supremacy, and files fanaticism to a sharp cutting edge.

Modern-day communism, in all its many ramifications, simply cannot be understood without a knowledge of communist discipline: how it is engendered, how it operates, how it tears out man's soul and makes him a tool of the Party. The very core of communism is discipline. Without it communism would lose much of its momentum, terror, and striking power.

The Party's constitution provides for disciplinary action. An elaborate "appeals" framework is provided whereby a series of "courts" is available to hear "charges," with the National Convention being the "court" of final resort. Generally speaking, disciplinary problems are handled, on all levels of the Party, by Review and Control Commissions (often called Security Commissions). They serve as the "courts" to discipline any member who might be hostile to the Party.

These "courts" must not be confused with courts as we know them in the American judicial system. Run by hardened, old-time comrades, they are weapons of Party discipline. "Sentences" are meted out on the basis of expediency, not justice.

wife's smoking. He was a male supremacist. If a woman thinks she is superior to a man, that's *commandism*.

Still another cause for disciplinary action is the charge of being an *informer*. Ever since 1949, when FBI informants testified at the first New York Smith Act trial, communists have been terrified of informers. They go all-out to catch "spies." Member after member, completely innocent of the Party's charges, has been expelled. "If you have to kick ten guys out to get the right one," a comrade explained, "that's the way to do it." In one instance Party officials without any authority searched the home of a member "under suspicion." In another instance an anonymous letter was received at national headquarters charging, among other things, that a high Party official was "a big bag of wind." The Party instantly collected typewriting samples, hoping to catch the culprit.

The Party, as part of its disciplinary program, encourages what is called self-criticism. The communists point to this technique as proof of the democratic nature of their Party. Actually, however, self-criticism plays into the hands of the ruling clique, enabling it to detect discontent and criticism of its leadership. It becomes an effective disciplinary technique to keep the membership in submission.

Members are encouraged to criticize themselves and others. A well-established Party admonition is: "Test your work against Marxist-Leninist principles. Is anything wrong? Why did the registration program fall short? Are the officers of the club doing their duties properly? Why weren't more pamphlets sold?" The membership is expected to bewail its errors, to say, "We were wrong. Have mercy on us. We will do better." They prostrate themselves before Party bosses. For those who don't "confess," there are others to point out their errors. What else could be asked?

When a comrade confesses, the communist custom is for other members to heap abuse on him, often in the most sarcastic and sneering manner. "You're a deviationist." "You're a chauvinist!" The idea is to drive the member to the lowest depths of humiliation.

When Earl Browder was deposed in 1945, a national officer

suggested that he be given a job scrubbing floors at national headquarters. Browder later told the Yonkers, New York, communist club, "If there had been any evidence that there existed a real need for my services in this capacity, I would gladly have given them."

Members often work themselves into a state of frenzy, tearing apart their best friends. Sometimes self-criticism becomes contagious, with Party sections and committees confessing en masse.

Tongues are sharp, but comrades soon learn whom to criticize. To attack a fellow comrade, especially one you don't like, is the thing to do. In attacking the club chairman the comrade had better take things a little slowly. If he is a friend of the chairman's superior and thinks he can get the chairman's job, then it's proper. If not, he should be content with self-criticism. Good Party manners would say "no" to disparaging a state or national leader, unless one was assigned as a "hatchet man" for another top official. Communist criticism flows more safely downward than upward.

Criticism is encouraged—but it must be of the right kind. An organizer isn't doing his job. To criticize him is proper; that's *constructive criticism*, designed to make the Party stronger. "But this criticism," one high official said, "must never depart from the line of the Party. . . ."

That's the crux: Criticism must be limited to how the Party line can best be advanced. Anything else is *destructive criticism*. It's like a house full of furniture. A comrade is permitted to discuss how the furniture can be arranged, whether the blue chair should be in the front room or the bedroom. But as soon as he questions the size of the house, whether a new room should be added, or the entire house destroyed and rebuilt, well, that's just too much. The Party line must not be questioned.

Some members learn the hard way. They push criticism too far and are quickly put in place.

John was highly regarded as a club chairman. He was aggressive and a hard worker. Promotion was his reward. He was sent by the National Committee to another city as a sec-

tion organizer. Soon things began to hum. He reorganized some clubs. He shifted other Party activities. He was putting his ideas to work.

Then he went one step too far. He suggested that the state organization, headed by his superior, could be improved. John should have known better. An organizer can work out new schemes to sell the *Daily Worker*, to recruit members, and to reshuffle clubs; in fact, that is Party initiative. But he doesn't criticize state chairmen and, as John did in this instance, threaten to take up the matter directly with national headquarters.

John quickly became the fellow who "went up fast, down faster." State headquarters, in a special report, severely criticized him and recommended additional Party training. The result: He was recalled and assigned to an insignificant desk job. He had to learn his lesson.

Destructive criticism may lead to *factionalism*, which, in Party eyes, is open rebellion. A member holds a critical opinion. Others agree and soon a faction, or group hostile to the Party line, is formed. Every resource of the Party is mobilized to destroy it.

For a show of democracy, the Party's constitution says:

Every officer and member shall have the right to express a dissenting opinion on any matter of Party policy with respect to which a decision has been made by majority vote of the appropriate Party committee or convention, *provided that such dissenting officer or member does not engage in factional or other activity which hinders or impedes the execution of such policy.* [Emphasis supplied.]

In other words, in practice any criticism that "hinders" the Party line is called factionalism and is forbidden.

Often, factionalism becomes so pronounced that an entire group is expelled. The Communist Party, with its unreasonable discipline and rigid structure, is peculiarly susceptible to factionalism. There are in America today a number of Marxist factions (called *splinters*), each small in number and with varying degrees of hostility to the Communist Party.

Noncommunists will have difficulty in understanding the utter inhumanity of communist discipline. It is a discipline that pervades every facet of life, drives wedges between husband and wife, and separates families. The best friends today, because of a Party action, may become the bitterest enemies tomorrow.

A Party member heard that her husband, a high-ranking functionary, had just been expelled. The shock was terrific.

He claimed that he was innocent. "I didn't do anything," he stated. And he was right. The charges were completely false. But she refused to believe. She double-checked with Party headquarters. They said he was guilty. The more she thought about it, the angrier she became. Her eyes grew bitter and her mouth curled with scorn. Finally her decision was made.

"Get out of this house," she ordered. "I don't want you around. You're a traitor. Now, out!"

Without hesitation she accepted the Party's version, refusing to believe her own husband. The wedge of Party discipline had conquered. The husband was driven away from his own home and his own child. Loyalty to the Party supersedes all emotions of love and mercy and justice.

In California the parents of a young lady were Party members. Both had held high offices in their section. They objected to their daughter's staying out with another Party member until four and five o'clock in the morning, and claimed it was injuring her health and her progress in school. The daughter's boy friend complained to a Party functionary that he was being discriminated against because he was a Negro. The girl's mother, a former section chairman, defended her action. The daughter then took the floor and charged her parents with chauvinism. They were expelled and the daughter then married the complainant.

The Party's constitution provides a number of specific penalties of increasing severity, including expulsion.

The mildest Party penalty is *reprimand*, usually designed to assist Party members in correcting their mistakes. This may take the form of *private censure*, such as, "You had better be

on time in the future," or, "Your work wasn't well organized." Somewhat more severe is *public censure*, whereby through written notice or public announcement a comrade is reprimanded. In this way others know of the Party's disapproval.

Then there is *probation*. This may involve a shift from one type of work to another or an assignment to special tasks. If the offender is a paid Party official, he may be demoted (for example, from a state office to a minor position) or transferred to another city. Next is *suspension*, usually for a specific length of time. This amounts to a temporary relief of assignments. The most severe penalty, next to expulsion, is *removal from office*. In such instances the comrade may be stripped of all Party assignments and demoted to being a mere rank-and-filer. This is a hard jolt, especially with the whole Party watching. These acts are object lessons to the membership. "Comrade, be careful. Don't you do the same." Fear plays an important role in communist discipline.

The most drastic penalty, of course, is *expulsion*, and thousands of case examples, even of the highest leaders, form mute evidence.

Once the communists turn on a comrade, the treatment is complete. For example:

Earl Browder, onetime General Secretary, was expelled in February, 1946, for

... developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy—American monopoly capital.

Sam Donchin, Associate Editor, *Daily Worker*, until shifted to leadership position on the Party's Education Commission, was also expelled. The *Daily Worker* on March 12, 1951, in announcing his expulsion, said, "Donchin was expelled for factionalism, anti-Party activities, hostility to the line of the Party and to the Party leadership, and white chauvinism."

The announcement continued: "Donchin tried to cover up his factionalism in the name of criticism and self-criticism in

the Party. He demagogically tried to identify criticism and self-criticism in the ranks of the Party with a right to carry on factional conduct in the Party."

Once a former member breaks with the Party and testifies or makes a public statement, he can expect a merciless campaign of vilification. On April 10, 1952, the well-known stage and screen director, Elia Kazan, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and testified that he had been in the Party for a year and a half in the 1930's and quit because of the regimentation and thought control that had been directed at him. Two days later he took a paid advertisement in the *New York Times* explaining his reasons. *Daily Worker* writer Samuel Sillen on April 17, 1952, gave Mr. Kazan the full treatment with such vitriolic words as:

We have seen a lot of belly-crawling in this time of the toad, but nothing has quite equaled last week's command-performance by Hollywood director Elia Kazan. . . . Not even in Hitler days did renegade intellectuals sink so low. . . . Kazan is not content with being a toad. He must also be a philosopher of toadyism.

Communist discipline, however, is not blind or without a deceitful purpose. Individuals should not be expelled impulsively but should be shown the error of their ways. Only when he is deemed "unimprovable" is a member to be ousted. For this reason offenders are often compelled to perform special "disciplinary chores" to "earn their way back," to show through hard work, devotion, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Party that they should be readmitted to favor. In a Northern city, for example, an official in disfavor was placed in charge of arranging a mass meeting. He had to "prove" himself by doing the most menial tasks—running errands, selling tickets, recruiting ushers—he who used to be a keynoter himself. In most instances the more menial the task, the better. In Party eyes, a member who has gone through this self-abasement becomes a better comrade because of it. All thought of resistance is pounded out and he becomes a viable Party tool.



He can be reprimanded, criticized, treated in a brutally unfair manner, yet he'll keep on working. Lash him, and he'll clench his teeth tighter. That's the true revolutionary, in communist eyes.

The key is always acknowledging the supremacy of the Party. Hence, one of the fastest ways "back" is to acknowledge it quickly and completely.

In a Midwestern section an old-time organizer was accused of conduct detrimental to the Party. In a report read at an executive committee meeting he admitted his error. His conduct had been atrocious. Everything charged was true. He should have known better. He was ready to accept punishment. He even suggested his own removal as organizer. This attitude was exactly what the Party wanted. The state office did not relieve the organizer, though cautioning him that if his conduct were repeated, more severe action would be taken. The result: public (and mild) reprimand, not suspension or removal from office.

This explains why, in some instances, severe errors receive minor penalties, whereas small mistakes result in expulsion. The test is often not what a member did wrong but his attitude after the error was committed. If the member is willing to admit his mistake, real or fictitious, accept punishment gladly, and still maintain absolute faith in the leadership, he will probably soon be restored to favor. If he tries, however, to defend himself in the light of the evidence, he must be dealt with harshly. On one occasion a member involved in domestic difficulties replied "none of your business" to an inquiry by the Party. He wasn't long in good standing. In Party language, he showed no "political capabilities," meaning he was not amenable to discipline.

The Communist Party has a systematic campaign of creating hatred against the expelled member. It is not enough just to expel him; he must be vilified, blackened, and made to appear the scum of the earth.

These individuals become "spies," "stool pigeons," "rats," "Trotskyites," "renegades," and "degenerates." To communists, ordinary curse words have no meaning. They have a

vocabulary all their own. Hence, "opportunist," "deviationist," and "anti-Party" are their choicest terms of defamation, of characterizing a person as being the meanest, foulest, most black-hearted derelict imaginable.

The higher in Party leadership the ousted member has risen, the greater must be the efforts to defame him. For example, Robert Wood, the Party's onetime Eastern railroad organizer, was expelled with an explosive statement in the *Daily Worker* on March 23, 1951, which said:

... various violations of Party discipline, for panic in the face of the fire of the class enemy, for acts endangering the Party, for issuing instructions in the name of the Party which were unauthorized and false, for acts of white chauvinism, and for conduct unbecoming and inconsistent with his post of Party leadership.

From the campaign of vilification there arises a fantastically bitter element of communist discipline and hatred. Every man, woman, and child in the membership must be mobilized against the accused. One Party manual, written by a top leader, recommended:

1. Photograph the spy, and print his picture in the *Daily Worker* and in leaflets and stickers. . . .
2. Organize systematic agitation among the workers where the spy was discovered.
3. Mobilize the children and women in the block in the part of town where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons.
4. Chalk his home with the slogan: "So-and-So who lives here is a spy." Let the children boycott his children or child; organize the children not to talk to his children, etc.

This represents the utter depths of depravity, hate, and

inhuman venom to which the Party will descend in order to wreak vengeance on an expelled member.

An expellee must have no association with any member of the Party—even though that member be his own father, mother, wife, or husband. "Associating with the enemy" is the usual charge. This means the splitting of families, the tearing apart of friends. In one instance a woman member was expelled. Her husband was instructed to leave her and the children. When he refused, he was expelled. Another member who remained friendly was also ousted. It becomes a dizzy merry-go-round of personal spleen.

Once a communist is expelled and there is a likelihood that he might become a government witness, then the communists go to work to compile such information as is available to discourage the witness from testifying for fear of exposure or of being discredited in cross-examination by a communist lawyer. In one case a woman rose to a prominent position in the Party. When she later left the Party, the communists reportedly compiled a large file of her early indiscretions and weaknesses. Consequently, she has always been most reluctant to testify.

Communist discipline has another facet often difficult for noncommunists to understand. In some instances penalties, expulsions, and exposure are not enough; the culprit must pay with his life. Nothing less is satisfactory. The world has witnessed, both in Russia and in the satellites, highly publicized "purge" trials.

The "crime" was not opposition to the Party, lack of loyalty, or unwillingness to sacrifice everything for communism. Rather, these victims were renowned for their devotion, often having spent their entire lives in the movement. Suddenly, within days, their whole position was overturned. They were accused of trying to destroy the very thing they had labored so long to create. How does this make sense?

Communism is cannibalistic. Its servants are periodically offered as sacrifices on the communist altar. If something goes wrong, the trouble lies, in communist eyes, not in the policy decreed on high but in its human instruments. Whenever the

"infallible science" of Marxism-Leninism has been incorrectly applied, disciplinary action must follow.

The purge is characteristic of the communist movement everywhere. Lenin was a firm advocate of purges and urged: "If we really succeed . . . in purging our Party from top to bottom, 'without respect for persons,' the gains for the revolution will really be enormous."

William Z. Foster, then Chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, said:

Communist parties, in line with Lenin's teachings, also constantly strengthen the fiber of their organization by cleansing their ranks of elements that have become confused, corrupted, worn-out, or defeated in the hard and complex struggle to build the forces of socialism in the face of a still powerful and militant capitalism.

A stocky, mustached man stood before the convention of the Communist Political Association in 1945. A few days earlier he had been the undisputed leader of communists in the United States. He was now a "renegade," an "enemy" of the foulest proportions! Earl Browder was fighting for his Party life.

Browder's crime was not disloyalty to the Party but obedience to a policy that, in his opinion, was in the best interests of communism. Moscow thought otherwise. Actually, Browder was a pawn of communist tactics and had to pay the penalty.

He was stripped of Party authority, accused of every conceivable Party crime—by the very subordinates who had been his most loyal supporters. He was later expelled ignominiously, becoming a target of vilification for the entire membership.

Here was a "purge trial" grimly reminiscent, except for bodily punishment, of the infamous purges under Stalin. We need not wonder what Browder's fate might have been if communism had possessed the power of the state.

In our review of life in the Party we have seen how all communist processes are pointed to molding the revolutionary. He is the man who must carry out communist programs such as

mass agitation, fronts, and infiltration, to which we now turn. If anywhere he falters, from the Party's point of view, the communist drive for mastery is weakened.

The ousted member in most instances frees himself from the communist thought-control machine. In him lies hope for regeneration. The deepest tragedy lies in the conscious and voluntary submission, day after day, of thousands of Party members. These fanatical devotees, giving their all for the Party, represent a real danger to our way of life.

*Part V*

**THE COMMUNIST  
TROJAN HORSE  
IN ACTION**

## 14.

### *Communist Strategy and Tactics*

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IN PRECEDING CHAPTERS I have briefly outlined the history and internal structure of the Communist Party, USA. Now we must consider the Party's attack against noncommunist society in the United States.

The Communist Party, USA, is a weapon of attack, not only for the day of revolution but for *now*. To Party leaders each day is a day of preparation and dress rehearsal for the day when they hope to come to power. Noncommunist ranks must be infiltrated, penetrated, and subverted. The success of the communist mission depends on capturing the enemy's stronghold from within.

To this end the Party employs a variety of *mass-agitation* techniques. The communist is in the market places of America: in organizations, on street corners, even at your front door. He is trying to influence and control your thoughts. Mass agitation weakens the noncommunist enemy and builds Party structure.

Communists conceive of their attack against capitalist society in terms of warfare. They see the Party as the "vanguard," leading the proletariat in battle against the bourgeoisie. Periods of offense and defense, attacks and retreats, skirmishes, even pitched battles and casualties are demanded. They realize that victory can be achieved only by force and violence.

This warlike character of communist policy is reflected in Party expressions such as "strongholds of reaction," "mobilizing the masses," "advanced detachments of the proletariat,"

"storming the fortress of capitalism," "seizing the initiative." Basic battle plans are conceived in terms of *strategy* and *tactics*.

The ultimate aim of the Communist Party is the establishment of a Soviet America. For more than a generation, never for a moment have American communists forgotten their allegiance to the Soviet Union. This is the ultimate strategy of the Communist Party, USA.

Party leaders realize, however, that they are a minority. They simply cannot march straight to victory. For that reason the approach (tactics) must be varied, flexible, and constantly subject to change.

To communists, strategy means the determining and carrying out of long-range goals (such as winning a war), whereas tactics are the working out of strategy on a day-to-day basis (winning particular battles and engagements). "Tactics," Stalin said, "are a part of strategy, subordinate and subservient to it."

To achieve the long-range goal, retreats and maneuvers sometimes are necessary. Is it not like climbing an unexplored mountain? asks Lenin. How can we "renounce beforehand the idea that at times we might have to go in zigzags, sometimes retracing our steps, sometimes abandoning the course once selected and trying various others?"

That explains the communist phrase, "strategic retreat." It means: Don't be afraid to take two steps backward today if it will help to achieve three steps forward tomorrow.

Keep the goal always in mind, teach the communists; remember that the enemy is superior in numbers, better armed, more experienced. Moreover, communists must be willing to endure hardships. Lenin urged: "... if you are not inclined to crawl in the mud on your belly, you are not a revolutionary but a chatterbox. ..." Fight hard and be disciplined, "carefully, attentively and skilfully taking advantage of every, even the smallest 'fissure' among the enemies. ..." Seize "every, even the smallest opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable

and conditional." And "Those who do not understand this fail to understand even a grain of Marxism. ..."

Use anything to advance the ultimate goal: offensive and defensive tactics, legal and illegal, long- and short-range policies. All are part of the over-all battle plan.

Don't allow the Party to advance too rapidly. Stop, consolidate, maintain contact with the masses. "... an advance *without consolidating* the positions already captured is an advance doomed to failure." Likewise, never make a permanent truce with the enemy. Don't be trapped by his lures, bribes, and promises. Cooperation or collaboration with noncommunists must never be more than a "tactic." It must have as its actual long-range goal the weakening and discrediting of democracy and its eventual destruction. The task of the revolutionary leader is to gauge the comparative strength of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and decide what particular tactics are then most likely to promote revolution.

Communists employ various tactics in devising methods to inject themselves into various phases of American life. Their obligation to defend the interests of the Soviet Union dictates their tactics in seeking to obstruct and undermine public confidence in our foreign policy. Thus, seizing upon the inherent desire of all Americans to reduce taxes, the *Daily Worker* editorializes that foreign aid should be curtailed and billions should not be taken "out of our pockets for a new phony emergency. ... The huge seventy-billion a year defense budget is rushing America to inflation, and economic crisis." Actually, communists would like to develop an economic crisis.

Then they urge the development of a peacetime economy by advocating trade between the United States and Russia because Russia would benefit. *Political Affairs* thus urges, "The only remaining untapped market for U. S. goods is the Soviet Union, China and the Peoples' Democracies, in which the threat of crises of overproduction has been removed forever. ..."

In seeking to curry favor with labor, communists employ tactics of calling for immediate demands such as higher wages, a shorter work week, increased vacations, and an abolition of

the high cost of living. To that end a communist labor tactician calls for putting "... ideological differences aside in order to work together in behalf of a single immediate objective or a number of immediate objectives. ... the unions must work together. ..."

The immediate demand tactics are also employed by the communists to find favor with Negroes by urging the abolition of "Jim Crow Laws," "full representation," and "the fight for Negro rights." The controversy on integration has given the communists a field day. November 1955

They also have a program "... to stimulate broad united-front actions in the rural communities in defense of the economic interests of the farming masses"; "to weld youth unity"; and to "work still harder" for mothers.

A primary tactic of the Communist Party is to preserve the legal status of the Party. Thus, any organization which has the duty to investigate or expose communist activity is singled out for attack. For years the Party has campaigned against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and the Senate Investigating Committee. The Department of Justice and the FBI have not been spared, and we have come to judge our effectiveness by the intensity of communist attacks.

The Red Fascists have long followed the practice of making full use of democratic liberties: elections, lawful agitation and propaganda, and free speech, press, and assembly. Their basic premise: Reap every advantage possible. However, if it will help, don't hesitate to use illegal methods, such as underground operations, terrorism, espionage, sabotage, lying, cheating. "We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so. Terror is a form of military operation that may be usefully applied. ..." wrote Lenin. Morality is strictly a bourgeois device. To the communists everything that promotes the revolution is moral, legal, and beautiful.

"Many people are confused by the Party's abrupt twists and turns, such as denouncing the United States as an "imperialist" nation from 1939 to 1941, then overnight, after Russia's entrance into the war, hailing America as a great ally. Commu-

nists often look like frightened rabbits chasing back and forth. But in reality these "changes in the Party line" are merely shifting tactics, all designed to promote the ultimate goal of world revolution. They are not changes in heart.

The Communist Party, USA, has been and is engaged in an all-out war against American freedom. Its tactics of confusion, retreat, advance, infiltration, and hypocrisy are in full play. The attack is both legal and illegal, offensive and defensive, open and concealed.

Above the surface a gigantic propaganda and agitation campaign is in progress, a campaign that depends for success upon the support of noncommunists. Basic communist strategy dictates that noncommunist hands, knowingly or unknowingly, under communist guidance, must further the influence of the communist world.

To understand communist strategy and tactics, as designed to destroy American democracy, we must first observe above-ground communist operations: mass-agitation campaigns, infiltration techniques, and Party fronts; then in Part VI we will consider the underground organization.

## 15.

*Mass Agitation*

AS STATED IN CHAPTER 10, the Party's attack is geared to the wide variety of American life. Communism has something to sell to everybody. And, following this principle, it is the function of mass agitation to exploit all the grievances, hopes, aspirations, prejudices, fears, and ideals of all the special groups that make up our society, social, religious, economic, racial, political. Stir them up. Set one against the other. Divide and conquer. That's the way to soften up a democracy.

Here is the advice of a top leader giving instruction on how to spread the Party's influence:

Study your friends. See what they spontaneously talk about. What problems interest them?

- is he an unemployed worker, skilled in his craft but without work?
- a storekeeper? Maybe business isn't so good;
- a trade-union man or a dairy farmer? What are their problems?
- a young man just out of school? Looking for a job?
- a member of a minority group?
- a young mother worrying about sending her child to kindergarten?

"... unless each one of us grasps the meaning of this individual approach to every one of our friends and acquaintances, we are in danger" of being ineffective.

Agitation must be carried on in specialized fields: among women, among youth, among veterans, among racial and nationality groups, farmers, trade unions. That's the responsibility of the Party commissions.

Consider youth, a prime target of communist attack. Communists start out with this major premise: American imperialism aims to create a corrupt, completely militarized youth—a "gagged," "scared" generation. This theme is expounded by word of mouth, in forums, in literature, in cartoons, hoping to exploit the lofty dreams of youth.

The approach always has two sides: (1) *the deceptive line designed for public consumption*, and (2) *the real Party line designed to advance communism*. Consider this *deceptive line* for youth:

1. Increase trade with all countries, including the communist bloc, to provide "hundreds of thousands of new jobs for young people."
2. Outlaw all mass destruction weapons (atomic bomb).
3. Promote universal disarmament and peace.
4. Reduce military expenditures and repeal the draft.

5. Repeal all "repressive legislation" and "restore the Bill of Rights."
6. "Restore full academic freedom for students and faculties."
7. Promote world-wide "youth friendship for peace and democracy," drop all bars to the travel of youth.
8. Appropriate more money for schools, community centers, etc.

That is the line designed for public consumption. Sounds acceptable, doesn't it? But the communists are not genuinely interested in improving the status of American youth.

For window-dressing, they always support items desired by most of the people: lower taxes, higher wages, better housing, old-age security, higher farm income. These are thoroughly legitimate interests. To support these aims, and many others, is not to be a communist. The Party is simply attempting to exploit such interests for its own selfish aims. They become Party "talking points."

Behind this front, as in the call for world-wide youth friendship, more education, academic freedom, and so on, lurks the ulterior motive, the real Party line. The attractive "come along" points are merely bait. Look closely to see how the adoption of these demands, as conceived by the Party, would distort their true meanings and aid the communist cause:

"Restore the Bill of Rights," in communist language, means eliminating of legal opposition to communism, stopping all prosecution of communists, and granting amnesty to those presently in jail. "Repeal the draft law" and "peace" mean curtailing our national defense effort and allowing Russia to become militarily stronger than the United States. "Increase trade with the Soviet Bloc" means selling materials that could be used by the communist nations for armaments. "Restore academic freedom" means to communists that we should permit the official teaching of communist doctrine in all schools and that we should allow communists to infiltrate teaching staffs. If the communists had their way, America would be rendered helpless to protect herself. Incidentally, notice the communist use of the word "restore," indicating that freedom

is already gone and that the Party stands for its return.

Now substitute "veterans" for "youth." The approach is the same: Increased trade with all countries, including the communist bloc, would mean thousands of new jobs for veterans. "Restore" academic freedom so veterans can think as they want. Promote world-wide veteran friendship. Drop all bars to the travel of veterans. Also, it is good propaganda policy to add a few "come along" points appealing specifically to veterans. The technique continues: substitute "women," "trade union members," "nationality groups," etc.

The propaganda platform contains a combination of immediate "come along" demands, designed for deceptive and specialized appeal, and basic policy aimed to advance the communist cause.

Thus the Party, through its specialized and immediate demands, is able to gain entree into various groups and create favorable working conditions for future revolutionary action. Very quickly, for example:

- a veterans' meeting endorses "peace."
- a nationality festival passes a resolution for "peace."
- a youth affair favors "peace."
- a neighborhood group comes out for "peace."
- a women's rally fights for "peace."

Whatever its composition, the group, once under communist control, is switched to the Party line. The feigned interest in legitimate demands is merely a trap.

Even holidays are used to enhance the Party's aims. For example, the *Daily Worker* once headlined a story "Mother's Day to Be Marked by Peace Tables . . ." Postcards should be distributed on Mother's Day, the story continued, "declaring the deepest need of all American mothers to be a ban on A- and H-bombs. . ."

Also planned, according to the story, were special Mother's Day leaflets and placards as well as balloons for the children reading "World-Wide Ban of A- and H-bombs."

Many people sincerely believe, for many reasons, that these

bombs should be banned. However, to communists, the true meaning of peace and banning the A- and H-bombs is weakening the United States and advancing Russian aggressive aims.

And so it goes. A discussion may start about the low price of oats, better working conditions on the second shift, equal pay for women, the death rate among Eskimos, but it will end with the endorsement of "peace"; "amnesty for the Smith Act victims"; "repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act."

Scattered, variegated, and inarticulate interests, under Party guidance, are brought into a common denominator: support for the Party line.

The Party line, in fact, is the sum total of all Party demands at any given time. You must learn to see it as a whole. Some demands are always present and seem innocent enough, such as those for higher wages, lower taxes, and better housing. But, remember, communists don't really care about genuine social reforms. These immediate demands are strictly for agitational purposes. They serve to arouse people and to cause tension. William Z. Foster says very candidly: "Our Party is a revolutionary Party. It aims not simply to ease conditions a bit under capitalism for the workers but to abolish capitalism altogether."

If ever achieved, these demands will be restated in more extreme form.

Other demands in the Party line are short-term; that is, they may quickly change, depending on the current national and international situation. Consider the Party's stand that Formosa should be returned to China proper. Suppose the present communist regime in China were overthrown and a government hostile to Soviet Russia gained power. This demand would be quickly abandoned. On the other hand, certain demands never change, such as support of the Soviet Union.

The attack is primarily agitational. Propaganda, although valuable, is a long-range softener, to be handled chiefly on an intellectual level by the educational department; agitation is immediate, inflammatory, conducive to acute discontent, the specialty of the field organizer.



Lenin's distinction is decisive. A propagandist, he says, to explain unemployment must talk about the capitalist nature of the crisis, the need for building a socialist society, etc. "Many ideas" must be expounded, "so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons."

But the agitator, on the other hand, selects one well-known aspect of the problem, such as "the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker." He will concentrate on imparting a single idea to the masses: why this family died. Or, in Lenin's words, he will show "the senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth and increase of poverty." Evoke discontent and revolt now. "Leave a more complete explanation . . . to the propagandist." Here is an example of how agitation works:

The communists publish a story: John Doe has been arrested, the charge is murder. Of course it is a tragic event. Crime always brings sorrow. It reflects maladjustment in society and points up abuses that genuinely need correction. But the communists aren't interested in John Doe. They do not try to discover the true facts in his case, study his background, or improve his condition. Here in the day's news is a human tragedy that can be exploited for propaganda purposes. That is enough.

The Party machinery springs into action, typical of thousands of mass-agitation campaigns.

The communist press publicizes the case with pictures, an interview with the wrongdoer, stories about his family. It carries heart-rending and sentimental accounts, without regard to truth or the suffering of the victim of the crime or the sorrow of his loved ones.

If the arrested person is a member of a minority group, or a veteran, the father of ten children, a union member or unemployed, the agitational appeal is broadened. "Union Member Framed on Murder Charge." "Unemployed Veteran Railroaded to Jail." "Father of 10 Arrested on False Charges." Almost always the charge of "police brutality" is thrown in too.

In a few days a decision must be made. Should the campaign continue? Maybe the case is quickly over, no special interest having been aroused. Or the "victim" himself announces that he's been treated fairly and has no personal ill feelings. That's the end. The Party drops it.

Such campaigns are sometimes carried on for months or years, with varying degrees of intensity. The Party is a self-appointed collector of "victims" of "framed evidence," "lynch justice," "Gestapo brutality," "academic witchhunts." These "martyrs of injustice" include old-timers like Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottsboro Case, now remembered only in "memorials"; and recent ones, such as the "Martinsville Seven," the "Trenton Six" or the Rosenbergs; or hot-off-the-griddle varieties, such as those appearing in the current Party press. All are trotted out at the slightest twist of tongue or pencil as exhibits of capitalist "terror" and communist "benevolence."

Certain exploitation standards determine whether the campaign is to continue: Can large numbers of people be influenced? Is a public official involved—the more prominent the better—who can be undermined and smeared? Will other communist ventures be aided? Can the Party gain recruits? (Mass agitation is always linked to Party building.) Can financial gains be secured for the Party?

The Party searches American life for agitational points: the eviction of a family, the arrest of a Negro, a proposed rise in transit fares, a bill to increase taxes, a miscarriage of justice, the underpayment of a worker, the dismissal of a teacher, a shooting by law-enforcement officers. Some of the cases, unfortunately, do reflect mistakes or blemishes in American society. Others are twisted by the Party into agitational items.

Once the decision has been made to continue the campaign, the next step is probably the formation of the XYZ Committee to Save John Doe: a communist front, born at 9:00 A.M., full grown by 10:30 A.M., mailing out letters by noon. This gives the illusion of organized interest, focuses attention, and masks communist participation. Purpose (deceptive) is to gain

"justice" for the defendant; purpose (real): to advance communism.

Attract attention by building up a bonfire of agitation. Suddenly, almost like magic, a "women's" group in Oregon, a "farmers'" meeting in Oklahoma, a "consumers'" conference in West Virginia pass resolutions: "Save John Doe!" Literature is scattered, other groups contacted. The Party becomes the agitational base. Who is John Doe? The members don't know, except that he's the newest twist in the Party line. That's enough!

The Party has now started a mass-agitation campaign. Its success depends on securing noncommunist support. Members contact community leaders, such as judges, members of the city council, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, educators, social workers, trying to obtain statements or testimonials.

The communist is no longer a shadowy figure deep underground or meeting secretly at night. He is knocking on doors, seeing prominent people, attending city council meetings.

I feel that John Doe has been wrongly arrested [or convicted, as the case may be]. I am compelled in the interests of justice to demand that he be released.

That is a typical testimonial to be sent to authorities and the press.

The technique of obtaining testimonials is always to start with a sympathizer, the kind who will authorize his name for any communist campaign. Some are so "controlled" that headquarters uses their names without consultation, even preparing their statements. Others are contacted on each occasion.

They next reach out for other prominent sympathizers. Officers of communist fronts make good signers. They usually have imposing "titles." Next, branch out to the lukewarm, those who are on the fence; sometimes they will sign, other times they will not. If not, they must be sold. Finally come the unsuspecting noncommunists, with contact being made either in person or on the telephone.

"Mr. X, I'm So-and-So from the XYZ Committee to Save

John Doe, I was just over at Mr. Y's office. You know him, don't you?"

"Yes," will come the reply. That gets the interview off to a good start.

"This is a case I am sure will interest you. You are a lawyer and here is an individual who is the victim of injustice. . . . Have you heard about it?"

"No." That's good, the field is clear.

On and on. "Dr. F, Rev. O, etc., have given statements . . ."

The man signs. Another "innocent victim." Did he know the communist identity of the solicitor? No. Did he know that the XYZ Committee to Save John Doe was a communist front? No. Did he realize that by making the statement he was aiding the communist movement? No.

For sincere, honest reasons of their own, entirely unrelated to communism, many individuals may support John Doe. This, of course, does not make them communists. To call them communists is an injustice, but it is not unjust to point out that the Party always seeks to exploit such personal convictions for partisan propaganda.

The cause of communism must be linked with as many elements in society as possible. Our fight for John Doe is your fight, the communists say to labor-unions, Negro, professional, cultural, and nationality groups. Today he's being "persecuted." Tomorrow it'll be your turn. Join with us and we'll fight together.

. . . we Communists join with every other democratic-minded American, irrespective of views, in the common fight to preserve a common democratic heritage.

*Deceptive:* the communists are fighting for our "common democratic heritage"; *real:* to gain the support of noncommunist groups (even ". . . those who do not accept Socialism as a final aim"). As Lenin instructed, seize allies everywhere. Use them for the advantage of furthering communism.

Mass agitation is most effective in capturing the support of noncommunists. By securing even the temporary allegiance of

hitchhiking. Get your tickets, meet at the station, don't miss the Clemency Train. Day after day the *Daily Worker* pounds this theme. An operational headquarters is set up, usually under a fancy Aesopian name such as "Liberty House" or "Inspiration Center."

This tactic—concentrated pressure—is reserved only for special occasions. Teams visit offices of legislators, officials of the government, and demand to see the governor or President. Make everyone think that "millions" are demanding clemency. A cascade of telegrams, letters, petitions, resolutions pours in, promoted by comrades back home. "The city was stirred today by the nation's demand for clemency for John Doe. . . ." writes the Party's press agent. Probably 250 communists and their sympathizers were in town.

The hour of judicial decision or execution nears. The drama is heightened. "Prayer meetings" are held by communists, who do not believe in prayer. Then the super climax: a "vigil." The comrades start a marching line, twenty-four hours around the clock, demanding "mercy," "clemency." One day, two days, five days, twelve days, the line moves back and forth in front of the governor's mansion, or more dramatic, the White House. Placards read: "Mercy for John Doe." "Mr. Governor, Don't You Have a Heart?" Any testimonials secured from prominent individuals bob and weave in the marching line. Leaflets are handed out.

In two hours comes a new shift. Paraders walk silently, sometimes in single file, at other times two abreast, usually six to eight feet apart. This isn't supposed to be a flamboyant affair, but sad and mournful, designed to capture the emotions. Death is near! "Clemency Now—Only 12 Hours Left." "Can America Allow an Innocent Man to Die?"

The shift is over. The members whisk back to "Liberty House," grab a bite to eat, hear a pep talk, then return for another "tour of duty." Cots are available for sleep. In this way a few fanatical comrades can attract the attention of thousands. Over the week end other comrades, off from work, "flood" into a city and, in the flaming words of the Party press, march by the "thousands"—meaning probably 250 to 300.

"There's Still Time to Act. Send Telegrams, Letters to the Governor." Mount the pressure. So long as John Doe is alive he must be exploited.

5. *The imprisonment stage:* the defendant becomes a show-piece. He is visited by his wife (called a "prison wife") and his family, and delegations go to see him. Sentimental and heart-tearing accounts are written: ". . . as the train sped me northward, my eyes ached with unwept tears of loneliness." "I heard [his] quiet voice. I looked into his calm eyes. But I noted too the tight lines of controlled grimness about his mouth and the narrowed tightness about his eyes."

Birthday-card campaigns are initiated. Send John Doe a Christmas greeting. His picture is published. His "speeches" become "quotable scripture." A nine-year-old son visits him . . . the child is shocked by the "watchtowers," "gigantic searchlights," "locked iron doors" . . . the visit is over . . . the little boy tells his mother, "After all, if Daddy didn't have such good political ideas he wouldn't be there in the first place." (He is a Smith Act "victim.")

The communist press will invariably superimpose its judgment on that of a jury and judge with a trumped-up charge that the homicide was justifiable, the evidence framed, or the witness had committed perjury. It will have a defense for the crime that would cause the person not familiar with the facts or the record of the trial to wonder. And the longer the lapse of time, the more real the trumped-up defense will sound to the uninformed. This might go on for years. For example, the Women's Committee for Equal Justice was not disbanded until seven years after Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons had been convicted and sentenced in a Georgia court for the slaying of a neighbor.

6. *The post-imprisonment stage:* most of the propaganda value is generally gone when this stage is reached. If the "victim" is dead, "memorial" services may occasionally be held or articles written.

The cycle has run. The campaign may be dropped at any

moment, shifted to a new tack, used to buttress another approach. Another purpose, especially in espionage cases, is to make the "victim" think he is a "martyr" and believe that any cooperation with the American government, such as implicating others or giving vital information, would be a betrayal. Better to have him executed by the government for his crimes than to expose other communists.

These campaigns are designed to dramatize communists and their front representatives as "champions" of the masses. They foster the illusion that these individuals are progressive, enlightened, and humanitarian, acting in the best interests of the American people. "We stand for freedom when everybody else is not interested." That is the illusion.

The real motive is to prepare both the Party and noncommunist society for revolutionary action. Members gain experience in mass work: the art of propaganda and agitation, organizing social discontent, guiding large numbers. Leadership, discipline, and organizational structure can be tested. Moreover, communists hope to make workers and the masses class-conscious, accepting the Party as their leader (in Party terms called *radicalizing* the masses). Sow seeds of discontent; weaken, divide, and neutralize anticommunist opposition; above all, undermine the American judicial process.

Law enforcement has long been a target of communist attack. As legal opposition crystallized, these Party attacks, especially on the FBI, prosecutive officials, and police, have mounted in intensity.

Lenin taught that it was essential for every "real people's revolution" to destroy the "ready-made state machinery." Wherever communists have been able to exercise any measure of control, their first step has been to hamstring and incapacitate law enforcement.

The communist performance in the Indian state of Kerala is a good illustration. Within a few months after a procommunist government came into control, "people's action committees" were formed which began to usurp the functions of the law courts. Then the state police were handcuffed by

orders to stand on the sidelines except when crimes such as murder, rape, arson, and assault occurred. Many communists were freed from jail, and public statements were issued that many penal institutions would be closed and their grounds turned into flower gardens. A noncommunist official of the Indian government reported a "complete breakdown of law and order."

Experience over the years has demonstrated that every time communists are able to avert justice through technicalities, there is not only jubilation in Party circles but also increased urgings for more brazen Party action.

Day-to-day struggles are battle-hardening dress rehearsals for revolution. William Z. Foster boasted, "... capitalism will die sword in hand, fighting in vain to beat back the oncoming revolutionary proletariat."

Often communists find it effective to carry out their agitation campaigns through organizations not generally recognized as procommunist. These can be either (1) old-time organizations which have been "infiltrated," or (2) newly established communist fronts. The next two chapters will discuss these forms of communist campaigning.

## 16.

*Infiltration*

INFILTRATION IS THE METHOD whereby Party members move into noncommunist organizations for the purpose of exercising influence for communism. If control is secured, the organization becomes a communist front. This chapter shows how infiltration works and what you can do about it.

Infiltration is one of the oldest of communist tactics, advocated by Lenin and Stalin. For instance, listen to this ex-

hortation by Georgi Dimitroff, General Secretary, before the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

Homer's famous story, Dimitroff said, must be applied to the twentieth century. "We . . . should not be shy about using the same tactics . . ." The Trojan horse has enabled the Party to wield an influence far in excess of its actual numbers.

For example, a community emergency occurred and assistance was badly needed in a stricken area. A labor union in Cleveland, Ohio, raised money to purchase food for distribution to the victims of this adversity in a small West Virginia town where families actually were in want for the necessities of life. The Communist Party organizer in Cleveland instructed a concealed Party member of the union that the truck driver was to deliver the food to a specified address in the stricken area in West Virginia where it would do the most "good."

Here a noncommunist organization was paying the bill, thinking that it was doing a generous act of charity. Yet concealed communists within its ranks were subverting the generosity to communist ends. Since the Party had actual control over the distribution, who do you think got credit for the generosity?

Such incidents are frequent. Strikes have been called or settlements influenced by Party penetration within labor unions. Party manipulation has controlled the conventions of noncommunist organizations and determined the selection of officers. An idea originated in a Party office can, through this technique, be translated within days or hours into interviews with high government officials, into intensive agitation campaigns, or even, as has happened, into disruption of industrial production.

No wonder the Party desperately seeks to infiltrate labor unions, the government, civic and community groups, religious, professional, economic, and social organizations. It desires to make these organizations, in various ways, serve Party interests.

Party leaders spend much time and effort in studying infiltration strategy and tactics. A hasty, ill-advised, or poorly timed move might wipe out months of preparation. Should the objective be complete capture of the organization or the placing of a few key members? If the latter, where should the initial attack be delivered? Would it be better to place a member on the midnight or on the swing shift? Where can the greatest and most immediate gains be secured? A flexible strategy, adapted to current conditions, must be employed.

Communists have probably worked harder to infiltrate American labor unions than any other group. Since the days of Lenin, labor has been a favorite target. The Russian dictator was explicit:

It is necessary to . . . agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs.

The statement is frank: Communists are not interested in the laboring man, higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours. They want to get inside unions in order to agitate for communism.

An overwhelming majority of American labor-union members are honest, hard-working, loyal citizens. They detest communism. This has been proven time after time. Alerted to the presence of communists, they will cast them out. Most of the Party's gains achieved prior to and during World War II in the labor movement have now been destroyed.

These defeats, however, have not halted the danger. "At least 90 per cent of all of our efforts," one Party writer asserted, must be devoted to industrial workers. Drawing on

years of experience, the Party is today attacking labor unions with renewed vigor. The best way to defeat this assault is to know communist tactics of action.

The first thing in labor-union infiltration tactics is to secure a foothold inside a union, through a single comrade or, better yet, two or three. Comrades then do everything possible to build up strength inside the organization, creating a shop club.

Members of shop clubs are expected to promote Party influence in all possible ways. Very important is the recruitment of new members. The Party's influence depends on members, especially on their strategic placement in the union and in industry.

"How-to-recruit" suggestions, for example, are often supplied to shop comrades. One Party manual urges that members mix with the workers and cultivate friendships.

Especially must the Communist mingle with his fellow workers at noon time and participate in the general discussions and conversations that take place.

Always try to steer these discussions, the manual says, into "economic and political channels"—so as to provide the chance to insert communist propaganda. And don't use technical Party terms. Learn to express "our Marxian line" in good "American slang." Communism can best be sold in the every-day language of the prospect.

If the worker shows "interest" (the communists say if "he's more advanced"), give him a *Daily Worker* or pamphlet to read. Then invite him to a meeting or "study group."

Try to stay with him after working hours. "The majority of our Party members become Communists only after working hours, around 6 P.M." For communists there is no such thing as an eight-hour day.

The over-all work of infiltration, especially of shop clubs, is coordinated by Party strategy caucuses; that is, Party-called meetings where the problems of infiltration are studied. They are generally held on an industry basis, such as the automo-

bile, steel, railroad, mining, and electrical industries, with members employed in these fields attending.

Party caucuses operate on different levels. There will be, for example, local caucuses of Party members employed in a certain industry in a given area, such as the automobile or electrical industry in Detroit or Cleveland. Then there are state and national caucuses, with Party leaders being drawn from wider areas. Party labor directors are usually in charge. In the past, for instance, national "auto" caucuses were often held in Cleveland or Detroit, "steel" in Youngstown, "electrical" in Buffalo, and "mining" in Pittsburgh. Sometimes Party leaders in related unions, such as automobile and steel, are brought together in a general communist labor conference.

These caucuses are literally strategy-devising meetings, where problems and procedures are analyzed with X-ray precision. Noncommunists probably do not realize how carefully communists study "capitalist" companies, wage policies, personnel, etc. The objective always is: How can the company and the union be used to implement the Party line, as support for "peace," the Smith Act "victims," or some current Party "martyr"?

For an answer let's look in on one Party caucus.

Leslie, from the northwestern part of the state, was reporting on what his shop club was doing, that is, soliciting signatures to a "peace" petition.

"We got seven hundred and four signatures in a little over three days last week."

"Keep at it," the organizer responded. "Get more signature campaigns going. Contact those people who have already signed. See if they are friendly and understand our position. If so, go a third time. (Maybe a recruit could be secured.) Encourage them to circulate a petition themselves."

"At our plant," another Party leader commented, "we started a committee to protect freedom of speech. It's a good issue and we've had some fine response. I think we ought to soon rally some support for the Smith Act victims. I hope we can get some contributions too."

"Fine," the organizer added, "but always remember that we

Ticket. His name would lend prestige and give the ticket a capable career officer. Here was the first breakthrough. More deals, however, were necessary.

The chief problem now was the presidency. Whom to run? A known procommunist could not win. To support another anticommunist was unthinkable. The answer: an opportunist.

The right man was at hand, a noncommunist, personally ambitious, who disliked the current president. Lacking a dynamic personality, a "little backward," as one Party official called him, he could be "guided." He was just the man to head the ticket.

He was contacted. Run for president and you'll receive "our" support. The communists, of course, didn't openly identify themselves. The opportunist, however, probably suspected, but he didn't care. That is the mark of an opportunist: his personal ambition is so great that it overrides every other consideration.

Now the other noncommunist candidates on the Reform Ticket must be chosen.

To communists there are different degrees of "foes." A "60 per cent" foe is better "working material" than a "100 per cent" foe. Another may be appraised as a 40 or even 10 per center. In drawing up the slate, find as many "low percenters" as possible. Also there is the practical factor, always to be remembered, of selecting candidates who can "pull" votes to the ticket.

These deals were made.

Then there was the task, after selection of the slate (which contained concealed communists along with noncommunists), of getting it elected.

This meant more strategy, manipulation, and deals. The communists could count on only a small minority of the vote—their own members and a few sympathizers. Their tactic lay in exploiting existing jealousies, conflicts, and dissatisfactions among the majority noncommunists. To catch the secret of communist infiltration tactics, we must understand how the Party, with great skill, is able to exploit, guide, and capitalize on the splits and lack of interest in noncommunist ranks.

That's how the Party is able to wield an influence far out of proportion to its numbers.

There was, of course, the usual share of communist deals. One technique, often used, is a deal with a noncommunist member of the group who is running for office in another organization in which the communists also have members. "Support our candidates here," the deal goes, "and we'll help you next week." Then there is the communist who is a union official or company foreman who says to a noncommunist member of the group, "Maybe we can consider a promotion for you at the plant if . . ."

Another technique is to urge "benevolent neutrality" upon those noncommunists who are wavering and might vote for the current officers; that's a good day for them to stay home or go fishing!

Result: The Reform Ticket won a complete victory. Now one-third of the officers, five Party members, were controlled by Party headquarters. The rest were virtual prisoners.

To infiltrate an organization is only a first step. It must be made to serve Party interests. There are many ways:

1. A proposal, promoted by the communists, was made that Henry G., both a member of The 123 Group and a secret communist, be sent as an official delegate to the National Convention of a communist-front organization. This group was painted in glowing terms as a fighter for human rights. No mention was made of communist control. Opponents objected, labeled it as a communist "outfit." The vote was taken: motion passed, and the communist member went, expenses paid.

2. A concealed communist was running for public office. Motion was made that his candidacy be endorsed. Again another outcry from the opponents, but the motion passed.

3. "John Doe is a victim of injustice. We should pass a resolution to be sent to the governor demanding his freedom. . . ." An anticommunist protested, "It's not our business to be passing resolutions about such matters." "A reactionary,"

munist infiltration after a long, tiring battle. Here were some of the basic points the noncommunist opposition had to keep everlastingly in mind:

1. *Rally the majority noncommunist strength.* The communists, usually a minority, capitalize on the lack of interest of noncommunists. One communist member was elected to office with only 3 per cent of the total eligible vote.

2. *Remember that communism is always an evil, never a temporary good.* Often communists give the impression of working for the best interests of the group. "What do you care whether we are communists?" one Party leader asked. "We're trying to help you." Another quipped: "Politics don't matter. It's the issues that count." That's wrong. Any conciliation, friendship, or trust placed in communism will sooner or later be exploited against democratic society.

3. *Don't underestimate communist ability.* Many communists are extremely intelligent. One Party leader was described by an opponent as very capable, well versed in parliamentary procedure, and possessing an excellent command of English. To think of communists as mere rabble rousers and nuisances is to risk defeat.

4. *Understand communist tactics.* Learn how they, though numerically few, are able to exert a maximum influence. Deceit is one of their strongest weapons.

5. *Stand up and be counted.* Many noncommunists hesitate to speak up in meetings. They fear to be attacked by an acid-tongued Party spokesman. They may remember Mr. So-and-So. He opposed a communist proposal several weeks ago. Now look at him. He hasn't slept a full night for weeks. Somebody is constantly calling him on the telephone. His relatives are pestered. It's best, they think, just to stay away from meetings or, if there, remain silent. Others, irritated, bored, or simply "fed up" with communist tactics, walk out. Just what the

communists want. They have a clear field. Speak your mind. Stand your ground. Don't be afraid to defend American liberty.

6. *Wage the fight in a democratic manner.* Emotion should never replace reason as a weapon. To pursue extralegal methods is simply to injure your cause. Fight hard, but fight according to the rules.

When communists speak of their desire to advance the cause of labor, the question should always be asked: What is their objective? In August, 1957, streetcar and bus workers went on strike in Lodz, Poland. The workers were using this means to protest against the unfulfilled promises of the leaders of the Polish Communist government. The strike was soon brought to a halt through the use of some 3000 troops with fixed bayonets and police who fired tear gas into the milling mob.

While the communists were demonstrating their brutality and terroristic tactics against labor in Poland, American communists were giving another demonstration of how they habitually ignore the truth. William Z. Foster, as the elder statesman of the Communist Party in the United States, was saying:

One of the most striking phenomena of the capitalist world in recent years has been the enormous extension of the workers' fight for democracy—among other phases, to defend their right to organize and strike. . . . World Socialism has enormously stimulated this struggle.

The answer is a simple one. The communists, once in control, crush every opponent, while, in coming to power, they promise everything to soften the opposition. This opposition will be "softened," however, only if we allow infiltration to take place before our very eyes without knowing it for what it is.



These fronts are a vehicle for communist pressure. They are highly fissionable. From many comes one; from one come many. They can be cut, sliced, slivered, or compounded to fit any need. No wonder the Party makes so much use of them in mass agitation.

The campaign is launched, urging the veto of the Anticommunist Bill. Let's see how the Party's front system is brought into play.

Suddenly telegrams, letters, petitions pour in on the governor from all kinds of groups such as organizations protesting higher taxes; youth, women's, union, and veterans' organizations; free-speech groups; civil-rights organizations. To an uncritical eye it must seem that a wide stratum of population is interested in a veto of the anticommunist legislation. Then messages arrive from other countries (from international fronts), as if the whole world, "millions of people" as the communists like to say, is vitally interested in the bill.

Many noncommunists may oppose the legislation for a variety of reasons and express their opinions by letter, telegram, and petition. That, very emphatically, does not make them communists. They are only exercising their democratic privileges. What we are interested in here, however, is how the Communist Party, through its front system, can stimulate a vast and often effective propaganda barrage—a barrage which, within hours, can be turned off or shifted elsewhere.

Many times fronts appear bewildering in their variety; agitating on countless issues; based on different groups and occupations; and working in many ways. But actually their technique of formation is virtually identical.

Let's look briefly inside a communist front and see how it operates. At the center is always the Party, organizing, manipulating, seeing that the right persons are in charge. Noncommunists might well ponder this comment by a Party organizer:

Experience has shown that most sponsors are unwilling to give of themselves sufficiently to stop the secretary from directing policy.

So true! The communists realize that if the secretary (or other

key officer) is a communist (almost always a concealed member), the Party can dominate the organization. Let the letterhead glitter with noncommunist names: president, vice-president, members of the executive board. They serve as lightning rods, camouflaging the communist interest. To the sponsors, the prestige; to the communists, the power.

Around this communist core come layer after layer of noncommunists. As we have seen in Chapter 15, great emphasis is placed on attracting noncommunists, the more prominent the better, into communist propaganda work. These noncommunists, by allowing their names to be used as sponsors, giving testimonials, or appearing at front rallies, are aiding the Party. It cannot be emphasized too often how the communists attempt to exploit for strictly partisan purposes the legitimate interests of noncommunists in social and economic problems, world peace, civil rights, and so forth.

Most important to fronts are mailing lists containing the names of persons to whom literature can be sent. Perhaps you have received such propaganda in the mail and wondered whence it came. Party-front mailing lists are compiled in many ways—from telephone books, directories, membership rolls of infiltrated organizations ("loaned" by concealed members). Then the daily press is followed. Front headquarters may jot down the names of officers in noncommunist organizations. You never know. Someday they might "come in handy."

Party fronts are aggressive. To wait for the noncommunist is wrong. Seek him out. "We must get into the neighborhoods more and into the home." Through rallies, parades, picket lines, forums, debates, circulation of literature, fronts are constantly seeking public support. They operate on the main streets of America.

Another thing: The agitation is always practical. Talk about peace, jobs, and the price of milk, not Marx's ideas of revolution. Link the struggle with "the fight for pork chops."

Peace is an everyday issue and . . . should involve the housewife, the woman who has to wrestle with budgets in the hopeless struggle with taxes, high prices and a shrinking pay check.

8. Does the organization denounce American foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?

9. Does the organization utilize communist double talk by referring to Soviet-dominated countries as democracies, complaining that the United States is imperialistic, and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?

10. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?

11. Does the organization, if espousing liberal, progressive causes, attract well-known, honest, patriotic liberals, or does it denounce well-known liberals?

12. Does the organization consistently consider matters not directly related to its avowed purposes and objectives?

These are some ways, direct and indirect, of the above-ground Communist Party, which is working against all of us. But this is only one arm of a gigantic pincer. The other is underground.

13.

### *Communism and Minorities*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY from its very inception has held itself out as the "vanguard of the working class," and as such has sought to assume the role of protector and champion of minorities. It directs special attention, among others, to Negroes and nationality groups. Actually the vast majority of Negroes and members of foreign-language groups have rejected communism for what it is: a heartless, totalitarian way of life which completely disregards the dignity of man.

In the case of the Negro minority the Comintern began in

1928 to lay down a specific Party line for the guidance of comrades in the United States. According to Comintern instructions, Negroes were to be considered as an "oppressed race." The Party was told to carry on a struggle "for equal rights," but "in the South . . . the main Communist slogan must be: *The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt.*"

Communist leaders, faithfully following Moscow's instructions, promptly started a campaign of agitation. In nominating James W. Ford, a Negro, to run for Vice-President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket in 1932, with presidential candidate William Z. Foster, C. A. Hathaway, then a member of the Party's Election Campaign National Committee, reiterated instructions received in a 1930 Comintern resolution:

In the first place, our demand is that the land of the Southern white landlords . . . be confiscated and turned over to the Negroes. . . .

Secondly, we propose to break up the present artificial state boundaries . . . and to establish the state unity of the territory known as the "Black Belt," where the Negroes constitute the overwhelming majority of the population.

Thirdly, in this territory, we demand that the Negroes be given the complete right of self-determination; *the right to set up their own government* in this territory and the right to separate, if they wish, from the United States.

Hence, "equal rights" and "self-determination" in the Black Belt became the Party's chief slogans for Negroes. By "self-determination" the Party meant what Stalin had said: ". . . the right of the oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession, as the right of nations to independent existence as states."

As for the "Black Belt," or as one article termed it, the "new Negro Republic," the communists have given various descriptions. In 1948 they described the Belt as extending through twelve Southern states: "Heading down from its eastern point in Virginia's tidewater section, it cuts a strip through North

Carolina, embraces nearly all of South Carolina, cuts into Florida, passes through lower and central Georgia and Alabama, engulfs Mississippi and the Louisiana Delta, wedges into eastern Texas and Southwest Tennessee, and has its western anchor in southern Arkansas."

By 1952 the communist concept of the Black Belt had been narrowed to "at least five Southeastern states, with port outlets at Charleston on the Atlantic and Mobile on the Gulf, encompassing the bulk of Mississippi, and a good section of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama."

As we know from cumulative evidence, the Party's position toward Negroes is determined not by concern for their welfare, but obedience to Soviet foreign policy. As World War II approached, for example, the Party switched its tactics regarding "self-determination" in the Black Belt. Instead of calling for the immediate and revolutionary overthrow of white landlords, as the Comintern had originally instructed, the Party now switched these demands to a purely theoretical and propaganda level: "... It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination." Why the shift? To satisfy the Party's united-front program, which demanded that the Party work harmoniously with other groups to strengthen the Soviet Union.

The World War II period found the Party cynically abandoning any alleged struggle for Negro rights. The aim was to help not Negroes but Moscow. "When we fought for the right of Negro workers to enter industries we often fought for such jobs mainly in the interest of the war effort." Earl Browder in 1945 admitted that as early as 1942 the Party had adopted the theory that "... the struggle for Negro rights must be postponed until after the war. ..." The Negro, in communist eyes, was a mere pawn, to be manipulated for the attainment of Party aims.

It became obvious that the Party, despite great efforts, had failed to win over even a significant minority of Negroes. Negroes resented the Party's severe criticism of Negro clergymen who had been vigorously denouncing communism. Earlier

the Party had been unable adequately to justify Russia's aid to Italy in its invasion of Ethiopia. American Negroes had realized that the Party was a fraud and a deception and that it was willing to betray the Negro to better serve Soviet Russia.

In early 1956 the Party decided to modify its advocacy of "self-determination," realizing that Negro opposition to communism was growing. In making this change, communists said they would still consider the Negroes as constituting a national as well as a racial minority.

Eugene Dennis, resuming his old post as General Secretary of the Communist Party (in 1956) after serving a prison term for violation of the Smith Act, said:

In re-appraising our position on self-determination in the Black Belt, our Party should emphasize, as never before, that the struggle for Negro rights and freedom, north and south of the Mason-Dixon line, has emerged as a general, national democratic task, upon the solution of which depends the democratic and social advance of the whole nation, particularly of the workers and farmers.

The Party's claim that it is working for Negro rights is a deception and a fraud. The Party's sole interest, as most American Negroes know, is to hoodwink the Negro, to exploit him and use him as a tool to build a communist America.

The Party has made vigorous efforts to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This organization in 1950 authorized its board of directors to revoke the charter of any chapter found to be communist-controlled. Nevertheless the Party has tried various infiltration tactics:

-In Philadelphia, the Party secured NAACP applications and instructed Party members to join.

-In Louisiana, the Party's District Organizer instructed all Negro Party members to join the NAACP and urge the creation of a youth organization, and to form committees to encourage Negroes to register to vote.

- In Gary, Indiana, a Party member, also an NAACP member, promoted the signing of petitions to pass a city ordinance.
- In Cincinnati, a Party Organizer instructed that Party members call the NAACP and urge the holding of a city-wide mass meeting. When calling, they should claim to be members of the NAACP.

The NAACP's national leadership has vigorously denounced communist attempts at infiltration. In 1956, when the NAACP and other organizations sponsored a National Conference on Civil Rights in Washington, the Party attempted to "move in" and started promoting the conference. The NAACP countered by screening the delegates.

Similarly, in 1957, in the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, the Party again attempted to move in and tried to exploit the pilgrimage as a rallying point for unity. NAACP leaders publicly told the communists that they were not welcome, and steps were taken to keep them off the platform. One outstanding Negro leader even tried to cancel the pilgrimage to prevent communists from propagandizing the event. Concerning Paul Robeson, who has long fronted for the communists, he stated: "... the boat is waiting to take him to Russia. ..." He added that he would raise the necessary funds to defray expenses. In Philadelphia, a Negro clergyman told the Baptist Ministers Conference that the Negro people did not want the communists interfering with their problems.

One of the most effective anticommunist measures I have heard of is the following: The NAACP had a meeting in Norfolk, Virginia, presided over by a clergyman. The minister opened the meeting with the simple statement that if any members of the Communist Party were present they would be excused. Silence ensued, with no person leaving. Then the chairman, starting with the front row, asked each individual if he were a communist. All entered denials until he got to the back of the room, where the state organizer for the Communist Party was sitting with a white woman. When asked the question, he tried to evade, but the minister pinned him down. The state organizer then stated that he did not think it

was proper to ask such a question. The minister calmly replied, "You are excused," and the couple left.

The Communist Party has stated: "The Negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and Communism means social and racial equality." Many Negroes, however, have learned by bitter experience how fraudulent and deceitful communists are. For example, Richard Wright, the Negro novelist, tells in the book, *The God That Failed*, why he rebelled against communist thought control. In describing how at the time he left the Party he was assaulted on a Chicago street, he wrote, "I could not quite believe what had happened, even though my hands were smarting and bleeding. I had suffered a public, physical assault by two white Communists with black Communists looking on."

In Buffalo, New York, at a Party meeting, a Negro comrade stated that many Negroes felt they were joining a union when they were recruited into the Party. The comrade, however, was stopped at this point and not permitted to speak further. In many cases Negroes have been recruited by deceptive methods with the hope that once in the Party they would be converted to communism. In one New York State club the functionary learned that thirty members thought they were joining a union rather than the Communist Party. The matter was investigated, and it turned out that a Negro woman had become overly enthusiastic in a membership drive. She had not fully explained the nature of the organization being joined.

In San Francisco, Party functionaries were concerned about a club where Negro members predominated, although the club was actually controlled by white members. It was ordered that the role of the white members be decreased. The functionaries also instructed that the club be carefully watched to prevent scandals, and warned that, while scandals must be prevented, care should be exercised not to convey the impression that white girls should not mix socially with Negroes or vice versa. Some of the Negro wives were becoming suspicious, as it seemed they were being pushed into the background after their husbands joined the Party.

The Communist Party, while preaching "equality," still

differentiates between races. For example, in the 1957 convention of the Party, an accurate record of the delegates was kept. The breakdown was as follows: 209 males, 78 females; 54 Negroes, 2 Mexicans, and 1 Puerto Rican. The hypocrisy of the Party was clearly shown when it required each delegate to register his race, although for years the Party publicly has campaigned to have the blank for "race" removed from all questionnaires.

Communist leaders have been complaining bitterly about the turnover of Negro members and of the Party's inability to indoctrinate any large number of Negroes. Information we have received follows a regular pattern: Negroes are rejecting communism.

A Negro in the Midwest became interested in the Party because it claimed that Negroes were treated as equals. Later he was unjustly accused of consorting with a white non-Party member. He quit.

A Negro in Illinois started going to Party social functions and became impressed with communist talk of "equality." But when he attended more advanced meetings and heard the United States constantly denounced, he came to the conclusion that the communists were under the domination of Russia. He left the Party.

A Negro woman, recruited in Chicago, was rapidly promoted by the Party. Then she noticed an incident involving a Negro man who got into difficulties on his job, but the Party refused to support him. She concluded that the Party was interested in neither trade unionism nor the welfare of Negroes. She quit.

A Negro in New York joined the Party because he felt it was championing his race. After a period of Marxist instruction, he was told to secure a job with a work gang at a pier and to recruit other Negroes into the Party. He came to the conclusion

that the Party was not interested in him as a Negro but only as a tool to recruit other Negroes. He quit.

A New England Negro also became interested in the Party when he learned of its alleged interest in helping his race. But upon becoming a member he discovered that the Party's interest was strictly vocal, and nothing concrete was done to help Negroes. Moreover, he disliked the Party's denunciation of God and religion. He quit.

As early as 1922 the Comintern approved a subsidy of 300,000 dollars for propaganda among American Negroes. In 1925 the Soviets requested that a group of Negroes be selected to come to Russia for training in propaganda work. A dozen were recruited. One of these, returning to the United States three years later, brought with him a draft for 75,000 dollars to help pay for propaganda work among his race.

One Negro later was designated to attend the Lenin School, and his experience there further unmasked communist hypocrisy and the Party's true feelings toward the Negro. He went to Russia with a delegation of students to enter the Lenin School. This young Negro, as he has since related, then "believed that through Communism a better and fairer world could be developed for all mankind."

He was troubled, however, by the communist position in urging Negro "self-determination" and the implications of a "buffer" state in this country being carved out of the so-called "Black Belt." Almost immediately after his arrival in Russia he "was told long stories of political persecution" by the Negroes attending the Lenin School. He was slow to give credence to these stories until he saw for himself: "I found that Negroes were special objects of political exploitation. The sacrifices and dirty work planned for the American Negro Communists as spearheads for communizing the United States made it obvious that we were considered only as pawns in a game where others would get the prize."

Becoming more outspoken and cynical about the communist program for Negroes, he became the target of a slander cam-

paigned inside the Lenin School. Finally this young American Negro was charged and tried before a court-martial. He was guilty of disaffection. A few students, sympathizing with his position, made a bold decision to report their grievances to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Then things began to happen. Classes in the American Section of the school were suspended. Some of the instructors were disciplined.

The young Negro explained that the Comintern ordered Earl Browder, then Secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, to Moscow immediately. Browder arrived and sought to smooth things over. Eventually the young Negro returned to the United States, working for a while as a Party functionary in Detroit. One of his last jobs was to make preparations for the founding of the National Negro Congress. Then he quit because he could no longer give aid to the communists "concentrating on their most helpless, and whom they think to be, their most gullible victims: the Negro."

The communists have created numerous fronts over the years in attempts to attract Negroes. Once a front is discredited, it is allowed to die and a new one created.

The American Negro Labor Congress came into being in 1925, and in 1930 its name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Within six years it had ceased to exist.

In 1935 the National Negro Congress was launched in Washington, D.C., its chief purpose being to protect Negro rights. It started out as noncommunist, and James W. Ford complained in 1936 that although "The National Negro Congress did not adopt a Communist program . . . we Communists stand one hundred per cent behind it in its efforts to unite the Negro people. . . ."

By 1940 communists had infiltrated the National Negro Congress to such an extent that when its president, A. Philip Randolph, "warned the Congress to stick to its principle and remain nonpartisan . . ." the communists staged a demonstration and walked out, leaving only a third of the audience to finish hearing Randolph. This 1940 convention of the National Negro Congress passed a resolution condemning the war as

"imperialist," and drew from a communist writer the observation that the congress had "only acted in accord with the fundamental interests of the Negro people."

In 1947 the National Negro Congress merged with the Civil Rights Congress, an out-and-out communist front which has recently dissolved.

The old International Labor Defense (ILD) also tried to influence the American Negro, and came into conflict with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a result of the ILD's communist tactics in converting the Scottsboro (Alabama) Case into a vehicle for communist propaganda. In this case nine Negro boys were indicted in 1931 on charges of having raped two white girls.

After the Scottsboro boys were first convicted, the NAACP charged that the defense "fell considerably short of perfection," and then retained the late famed Chicago criminal lawyer, Clarence Darrow, to represent the boys. In 1931 the late Walter White, then head of the NAACP, said the *Daily Worker* accused another defense attorney, Stephen R. Roddy, "... of being a member of the Ku Klux Klan, of having conspired with the prosecution to electrocute the nine boys, of having been the inmate of an insane asylum." According to White, the communists also charged the NAACP "as being 'in league with the lyncher-bosses of the South,' as plotters 'to murder the Scottsboro martyrs,' as sycophantic 'tools of the capitalists.'" The NAACP withdrew from the case, recognizing that the Communist Party was interested only in promoting "Red Fascism" in America.

George S. Schuyler, an editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, reflected the consensus of American Negroes when he concluded, "... The record shows that where and when the Communists seemed to be fighting for Negro rights, their object was simply to strengthen the hand of Russia."

In similar fashion the Communist Party has long considered foreign-language groups in the United States fertile fields for infiltration. Since many of the early comrades were foreign-born, agitation among national groups became a natural outlet

Socialist movement at the beginning of this century and of the Communist Party after the October Revolution." On the same occasion Novick then went on to brand the followers of Judaism for "... degeneration sown among the Jews by reaction ..." and then condemned their opposition to "... the progressive movement, against the Soviet Union and against Communism ..." Novick revealed his true loyalties in December, 1956, in an article in the *Morning Freiheit* after the display of Soviet brutality in Hungary with the apology that there was an anti-Semitic and fascist element in the Hungarian uprising, and insisted that, "... we must not only approve the Soviet actions in Hungary, but really appreciate it!"

The widely read Jewish newspaper, *Jewish Daily Forward*, on February 16, 1957, effectively identified Novick in a story captioned "Editor of Communist 'Freiheit' Is Bitter Enemy of the Jewish People." Here it was asserted that after the Hitler-Stalin pact the *Freiheit* justified and praised it, which caused writers to leave and Novick made sure that those who remained wrote without error following the pro-Hitler line. The newspaper further revealed that Novick had gone out of his way to prove that the communist dictators in Czechoslovakia were correct in arresting Rudolph Slansky (and thirteen former communist leaders, eleven of whom were Jews) and that the arrested Moscow Jewish doctors were involved in a conspiracy to poison Stalin. The *Jewish Daily Forward* article flatly said that "anti-Semitic poison just poured out" of Novick.

One Party member, after having been in the Party for twenty-five years and having held high Party offices, explained to our agents that when he joined the Party he had renounced the existence of God, that he had tried to impose on others his atheistic views, and that he was "not a religious Jew." He flatly said that most Party members he knew who claimed to be Jews did not follow their religion; they did not attend the synagogue, although they did not work on religious holidays; and the comrades who claimed to be Jews took no part in organized Jewish religious activities.

Some of the most effective opposition to communism in the United States has come from Jewish organizations such as

B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish League Against Communism, the Anti-Defamation League, and a host of other Jewish groups.

The reasons for the extensive activities of the Communist Party in seeking to infiltrate and make extravagant claims for its work in some Jewish organizations and those of other minority groups are readily apparent. In the Soviet Union, the proving ground for Marxism-Leninism, communists are confronted with a minority problem of staggering proportions. Only 58 per cent of the population in the Soviet Union is Russian whereas 42 per cent is non-Russian and consists of 168 national minorities.

The Bolsheviks prior to 1917 sought to win support from minorities by defending their rights and developing such propaganda come-ons as "self-determination of nations," "national cultural autonomy," and so on. Once in power, the communists soon forgot their promises but continued to pay lip service to minority rights. The Soviet Union still retains the "legal fiction" that it is a voluntary federation of union republics, each of which is free to secede if it wishes. In fact, Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 states, "The right freely to secede from the USSR is reserved to each constituent republic." No "republic," however, has ever tried to secede, and the possibility is remote indeed, as long as the Red army responds to the will of the dictators in the Kremlin as it did in Hungary.

A more important reason for communist interest in minorities in the United States is, of course, the opportunities they provide for exploitation and propaganda. The large number of communist fronts using the word "Jewish," as well as publications that the communists dominate, is for the obvious purpose of conveying a false impression of strength among those who embrace the Jewish faith. This also accounts in part for the literary interest communists devote to the problems of Jews. Prior to issuing the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx, the atheist, wrote a treatise called, "On the Jewish Question" which sets forth his views regarding Judaism and Jewish culture.

From that time to this in dealing with those of the Jewish faith, the communists invariably do so in terms of discussing "the Jewish question." In fact, by this propaganda technique the communists deliberately try to make the Jews a "problem," which is denied by the record of good citizenship and civic responsibility of adherents of Judaism in the United States. As an example: The American Jewish League Against Communism stated as early as 1948 that "Soviet Russia's million and a half Jews are the forgotten people of the world." The League lists among its proudest achievements that "... it was the first American organization to expose and document the communist anti-Jewish policies."

A true follower of the Jewish faith, like those of other religions, cannot embrace communism. Marxism-Leninism is irrevocably opposed to all religious beliefs and all forms of worship, whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Moslem. One of Lenin's basic teachings is, "We must combat religion—this is the A.B.C. of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism. . . . The Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion. . . ."

In theory and practice the communists make no distinction among any of the world's greater religions, as the leading Soviet crusader against religion, E. Yaroslavsky, makes clear:

... the priests of every cult have their own way of deluding the masses: the Jewish rabbi, the Roman Catholic priest, the Russian Orthodox priest, the Mohammedan mullah, the Evangelist, Baptist and other ministers of religion, each has his own way of fooling the people. . . . As to differences between one religion and another, they are of little, if any, consequence. . . .

If there was ever any doubt that the communists were even lukewarm toward the Jewish faith, it was resolved by Yaroslavsky, onetime head of the League of Militant Atheists in the Soviet Union, who said:

The Jewish synagogues were not granted any privileges whatsoever by the Russian state, but they were fully supported by the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Jewish rabbinate, like its sister

priestcrafts, drew close to the side of the rich because the Jewish church had also incorporated in its *credo* the justification of the existence of exploiting classes in society. . . .

Karl Marx described Judaism as "anti-social" and an expression of Jewish "egoism." Marx, better than any other communist leader, illustrates the gulf between Jewish tradition and communism. He could not be loyal to both, so in accepting the communist ideal, he was not content to reject Jewish tradition; he had to malign it and seek to destroy it with such bitterness as: "Money is the jealous God of Israel, by the side of which no other god may exist. . . . Exchange is the Jew's real God."

The unrestrained emotional outbursts of Hitler against the Jews were reminiscent of the Marxian tirades against Judaism.

The Marxian denunciation of Judaism is not limited to invective. From the earliest days when communism came to power in the Soviet Union, communists have conducted a systematic campaign to cripple and destroy organized Judaism. On January 23, 1918, the Soviets issued a sweeping decree "On the Separation of the Church from the State, and of the School from the Church." All church property was nationalized; churches were denied rights of legal recourse; the teaching of religion was banned in public and private schools; the right of people to attend religious services on workdays was revoked; and records of births, marriages, and deaths were taken from the churches and put under the exclusive control of civil authorities.

While religious services were still allowed, the clergy was reduced to the status of second-class citizenship; a campaign of terror was launched leading to the arrest and imprisonment or execution of priests, rabbis, ministers, and other church leaders on such vague charges as "counterrevolutionary activity" or "crimes against the people." Physical destruction of church property was conveniently explained as the "spontaneous" acts of "aroused" peasants and workers to conceal the real perpetrators, Soviet officialdom.

The main target, of course, was the Orthodox Church, which



had long been the state church of Russia; but all other faiths suffered, including that of the Jews. The reports of refugees as compiled by Wladyslaw Kania in the book, *Bolshevism and Religion*, published by the Polish Library in New York City in 1946, prove the hypocrisy of the Soviet claim of minority protection with accounts as follows:

The Jews are morally persecuted, the young Jewish population is being brought up in un-religious ways. . . .

The Jews in Russia are living only on the memories of the happy past . . .

. . . during the Jewish feast Purim . . . the Jews, Soviet citizens, assembled for evening prayer. One of the neighbors reported them to the NKVD. The premises were raided and the host arrested and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

The rabbis have been deported; "kosher" meat, etc., though promised, does not exist . . . The synagogues and houses of worship have been closed . . .

General Walter Bedell Smith, after his three years as Ambassador to the Soviet Union, reported that in June, 1948, about thirty churches were open in Moscow, which included one Jewish synagogue for an estimated 300,000 Jews. During World War II General Smith reported, "But two religions—the Jewish and the Roman Catholic—did not gain even temporary benefits from the wartime policy of greater religious tolerance; in fact, on balance, it is probably safe to say that attacks upon them have been stepped up rather than relaxed in recent years."

Communist reports on the state of Jews in the Soviet Union make little reference to Judaism as practiced. For example, the forty-seven-page communist propaganda pamphlet, written by Paul Novick and J. M. Budish, entitled *Jews in the Soviet Union*, makes only this single reference to Judaism:

Then, there are Jewish religious activities. I visited the main synagogue in Moscow during Yom Kippur. It was overcrowded, with people outside listening to the cantor through loud speakers . . . I visited synagogues in Kiev, Vilna, Berditchev, Zhytomir. There are about 300 organized religious communities in the U.S.S.R. . . .

The accuracy of this report is highly questionable, bearing in mind the cold, systematic communist program of extinguishing religion. Among the tactics employed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been the liquidation of the traditional Jewish school system, including the primary school (Hedder), the secondary schools (the Talmud Torah), and the rabbinical school (the Yeshiva). Thus, when the present generation of Soviet Jews passes on, there will be no more rabbis.

This attack on Judaism becomes apparent when the role of the rabbi is considered. He is not merely a preacher; he is the teacher of Jewish moral law, the ritualistic laws governing the home, family, and individual; he presides at such religious ceremonies as the marriage, sits in ritualistic courts and supervises circumcisions and the preparation of kosher meat. Hence, in abolishing the rabbinical schools, the Soviets are gradually seeking the extinction of Judaism without a pogrom. Judaism cannot exist unless Hebrew is taught so that rabbis can study the Torah and Talmud in the original language in which they were written.

Communist practice and communist theory are in direct conflict. Communism, as we have seen, is essentially an international class movement and therefore regards national loyalty, other than communist loyalty, as a potential menace. The communists use "national rights" as a propaganda device and support national movements only when it serves the interests of the Soviet regime.

The communist propaganda line directed to Jewish people follows three general themes:

1. The Soviet Union offers the Jewish people complete freedom. As one apologist put it: "There is one spot on the earth

In the Soviet Union, Zionism is ruthlessly suppressed. In the United States communists have a more complex problem and avoid direct public attacks on the Zionist movement, so as not to alienate that large section of Jewish people who favor Zionism. The communist attacks are more subtle and are directed essentially at individual Zionist leaders. The aim, of course, is to discredit the Zionist movement without antagonizing its rank-and-file members. The Party line changes from time to time when it is expedient, but the communist objective of eventually destroying Zionist influence among the Jewish people, without alienating its rank-and-file members, has never changed.

Khrushchev more recently reiterated the Party line against the Zionist movement when he was asked what the Soviet Union would do if the Zionists settled in Soviet territory and demanded a state of their own. He replied with communist contempt, "We have thrown them out of our country."

Communist Party leaders in the United States exhibited some concern over the Soviet campaign against Jews which was brought to light by an anti-Zionist article in *Pravda* on September 21, 1948, by Ilya Ehrenburg, which referred to the state of Israel as a "bourgeois country." This article declared that in Russia there was no artificial division between Jews and their Russian comrades but that Jews led lives in common with other peoples of Russia. The proper solution to the "Jewish problem," according to Ehrenburg's article, is the abolishment of "nationalism" among Jews and the integration of Jews into the existing society rather than their having a distinct life apart from other people.

It is known that when the information in the Ehrenburg article reached the United States, there were considerable concern and confusion in the offices of the *Morning Freiheit* as to whether the article represented a fixed Soviet policy. The fact that *Pravda* is under Soviet Communist Party control causes Party leaders in this country to give careful consideration to anything it publishes. The matter was resolved by directing an inquiry to Itzik Feffer, a friend of Stalin in Moscow, to secure the correct Soviet line on the Jewish question. The re-

port came back to the United States that Ehrenburg merely was reflecting his own ideas, along with some of the younger communists of Jewish origin, and did not represent the correct policy of the Soviet Union. The then foreign editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, Moise Katz, in an article appearing in the January, 1949, issue of *Yiddishe Kultur* criticized the ideas appearing in the Ehrenburg article.

Events, however, were to prove the correctness of Ehrenburg's statements, which became the fixed policy of the Soviet Union, and the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, of which Itzik Feffer was a member, was abolished. In the meantime the National Committee of the Communist Party intervened and, according to reports, straightened out the *Morning Freiheit* on the new Soviet line. A letter of apology over the signature of Moise Katz then appeared in the *Freiheit* on March 29, 1949. This incident was discussed in communist circles and the word leaked out that three writers were discharged from the *Freiheit* for "bourgeois nationalism."

When Khrushchev denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow in February, 1956, news of the long-pent-up acts of oppression against Jews in the Soviet Union began to leak out. It is, of course, significant that Khrushchev made no mention of the mistreatment of the Jews in his exposure of Stalin, whom he had so loyally served over the years.

Within a few weeks, as noted in Chapter 3, the disclosures of anti-Semitism came in the Warsaw, Poland, Yiddish-language communist newspaper *Folks-Shtimme* on April 4, 1956, regarding the Soviet purges of Jewish leaders and culture under Stalin. Later, on April 13, 1956, the *Daily Worker* expressed regrets and then admitted "... we were too prone to accept the explanation of why Jewish culture had disappeared in the Soviet Union in the late 1940s." With the agility of "whirling dervishes" the communists then sought to develop a justification for the Soviet communist leaders' action.

World public opinion over the Soviet communist leaders' injustices mounted and as Khrushchev turned on the "smiles"

and started visiting other countries, he was confronted with the accusation of anti-Semitism in Russia.

In England, Khrushchev characterized "anti-Semitism" as "nonsense" to which he would not listen. To a French delegation he protested that he was not anti-Semitic but that the Yiddish language is fading away in Russia as the Jews in the Soviet Union are learning to speak Russian. A new low in deception was reached when Khrushchev claimed that, in the early years of the revolution, "Jews occupied a disproportionately large number of high Soviet positions because the country had few trained people." He then asserted that the Kremlin had received protests from "the various Soviet Republics that too many Jews held desirable positions." The New York *Times* story on June 10, 1956, then reported that Khrushchev "... reportedly pressed Lazar M. Kaganovich, only high-ranking Soviet leader of Jewish origin, to confirm his statements, which Mr. Kaganovich finally did, saying one word, 'correct'..." And now there are no top communist leaders in the Kremlin of Jewish origin since Khrushchev ousted and denounced Kaganovich last summer.

The president of B'nai B'rith, Philip M. Klutznick, answered the communist propaganda claims when he made the factual observation that only in Soviet Russia and its satellites is "Jewish life languishing and approaching extinction."

The Communist Party of the United States at its February, 1957, convention sought to hoodwink the American public by a series of statements to the press of how it had declared its independence from Moscow. This deceit was established in no unmistakable terms by the handling of a resolution dealing with anti-Semitism in Russia. The resolution was submitted by Professor Morris U. Schappes in typical communist language: "Resolution: On Jewish question, some aspects."

The resolution stated: "This matter concerns us as Communists in a country which includes 5,000,000 Jews." It then points out,

Since the Jewish question is international in scope, we communists must be alert to the problem and its world-wide

aspects. The Jewish question is a specific question that requires specific attention. . . . The liquidation of the outstanding Yiddish writers and Jewish communal and political leaders, and the snuffing out of organized Jewish cultural life have been known for some time. . . .

He, of course, was referring to anti-Semitism in Russia.

The resolution called for the creation of a Jewish Commission, a return to Leninist policy, and a request "... to make this subject one for fraternal discussion with the Communist Party in the Soviet Union," which, of course, negates the view of independence of the communists in the United States.

The resolution was soft-pedaled and disposed of, as was a similar resolution dealing with Soviet terrorism in Hungary, by being referred to the National Committee of the Party. *Pravda*, on February 16, 1957, had this to say: "The 16th Convention of the Communist Party, USA, confirmed the loyalty of the American communists to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. . . ."

Party leaders, however, in the face of the overwhelming evidence of communist hate for the followers of Moses, still are attempting to deceive unsuspecting persons of Jewish origin and, as this is being written, communist tacticians are at work on a program of infiltrating Jewish groups by seeking for the answers to such questions as:

- How to avoid the extremes of negating Israel and of accepting its actions uncritically.
- How to work in religious groups while keeping ourselves and our children free of the religious doctrine of these groups.
- How to avoid the extremes of taking on all issues and avoiding all issues.
- How to balance Jewish work with our interests as Marxists in general trade union, minorities and people's movements.

The vigilant and patriotic members of Jewish organizations have demonstrated their alertness to counteract the infiltration tactics in Jewish institutions by communists who were born Jews. Where communist infiltration tactics have succeeded in

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Jewish organizations, it has been because of a failure on the part of leaders and members alike to be vigilant and thwart the communist tactic of infiltration into the Jewish community just as it has sought to infiltrate every other organization.

A *Pravda* editorial on July 6, 1956, should remove all doubts as to the antipathy of communism to those who worship God regardless of their faith:

As for our country the Communist Party has been and will be the only master of the minds, and thoughts, the spokesman, leader and organizer of the people in their entire struggle for communism.

*Part VI*

**THE COMMUNIST  
UNDERGROUND**

20.

### *How the Underground Works*

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THE COMMUNIST above-ground, as we have seen, constantly seeks to represent itself as a legitimate political organization working for the best interests of America. When large segments of the people are hoodwinked into believing this fraudulent claim, it becomes easier for the Party to carry on its revolutionary propaganda through mass agitation, infiltration, and fronts. Without some degree of public acceptance, the Party is doomed to an isolated impotence.

Communist tactics require that above-ground activities be pushed as far as possible. However, when the Party begins to abuse its constitutional privileges and the government takes steps to protect itself from outright treason and subversion, more and more Party activities are shifted underground, that is, to the illegal apparatus. As Lenin taught, the Party must always have two levels, above-ground and underground. Both must exist at the same time. One without the other is incomplete.

In times of "nonprosecution"—that is, when "hostile" governments are not attacking—the Party, like a submarine, will surface, carrying on the bulk of its work above ground. But a portion (the underground) will always stay submerged, concealing the Party's illegal activities, such as aid to Soviet espionage; endeavoring to place concealed members in sensitive positions in government, education, and industry, maintaining clandestine communication networks.

In event of an emergency, this undercarriage quickly ex-

As one Party leader stated, "Our best people are in this field . . . They are not in it for adventure, romance, thrills or pleasure. . . ." They "are in it because that is where the Party wants them for political reasons. . . ." ". . . it is . . . probably one of the toughest and hardest assignments for anyone."

That is why the Party, as we have seen, tries desperately to create the communist man, the individual obedient even when he is beyond the Party's immediate control. "It's not me who speaks," one leader said, "but the Party." Any allegiance outside the Party must be broken. The underground worker is the member who, even if cut off from leadership, will know what to do, will carry out the assignment, regardless of what it is. He is the man on whom all revolutionary plans depend.

Here is an example of how this fanaticism works:

Shortly before noon one day a top Party official drove east out of town. At the outskirts he doubled back, twice turning corners and coming to abrupt stops. Then, at speeds varying from forty to eighty miles an hour, he continued east for twenty-six miles. Turning around, he retraced his route at eighty miles an hour.

He was "dry-cleaning" in a most dangerous and reckless fashion. Back in town, for three hours he parked and reparked his car, darting up streets, entering and immediately leaving hotels.

At roughly 4:00 P.M., he left town again, this time driving south, again at various speeds. After five hours he cut east for fourteen miles, north for two, doubled back for twelve, southeast for forty-two, sometimes running without his lights; parking for a few minutes near buildings, then darting out at savage speed.

Late that night, after roughly twelve hours of furtive, reckless driving, often at highly dangerous speeds, he arrived at his destination and checked into a hotel. He had covered some 360 miles; the normal driving distance was 195.

This type of fanatical communist, if so instructed, would not hesitate to lead a riot, steal vital military secrets, sabotage

defense industries, or perform illegal activities. Here is the true communist at work, without concern for personal risk or safety.

## 21.

*Espionage and Sabotage*

THE COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND is designed to carry forward phases of the Party's program which cannot be conducted openly and lawfully. In addition, it contains weapons of attack which must always remain hidden (the permanent part of the underground), such as aid to Soviet espionage, attempts to place members in strategic positions in industry for potential sabotage, techniques to discredit law enforcement, and endeavors to infiltrate the armed forces.

Lenin taught that the enemy must be weakened in advance. To wait for something to happen is not the way to achieve revolution. The way must be prepared. The enemy must be softened up: weaken his will to resist, nullify his capacity for counteraction, impair his morale. Then, as in November, 1917, in Russia, when the crisis comes, communists can march to power through the ranks of a demoralized enemy.

The Party's relation to Soviet espionage is one of the most potent weapons in the communist underground arsenal. As past events have proven—for instance the Harry Gold-Klaus Fuchs combination and the case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed in 1953 on espionage charges—Moscow-directed spying represents a vital danger to the integrity and safety of free government. Espionage is utilized not only to secure information but also to weaken the "enemy" from within.

The Soviets very early instituted espionage operations

ber. It was later learned that Ponger had been a member of a Communist Party cell in England before he came to the United States as a refugee. He also had indoctrinated Verber.

The air force representative promptly reported Verber's approach to his superiors and from that time on acted under instructions. Prior to his return to the United States, Verber and Ponger arranged for the meeting at the Washington Monument. The Treasury of the United States, of course, received the thousands of dollars of Soviet funds paid to the loyal American.

In June, 1953, after pleading guilty to an espionage indictment, Ponger was sentenced to a prison term of from five to fifteen years, while Verber received a sentence of from three years, four months, to ten years. Novikov, who was named in the indictment as a co-conspirator, was declared *persona non grata* and returned to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet spy system is a disciplined structure, composed of many networks. There are the "legal" networks; that is, espionage controlled by legal representatives of the Russian government, such as diplomats. This was the case of Novikov. Then there are illegal networks, meaning spy rings operated by Moscow independent of the legal establishments. More and more the Soviets are concentrating on building illegal networks and planting "sleeper" agents. Such was the case of Colonel Rudolf Ivanovich Abel, of Soviet intelligence, who was arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in June, 1957, at the request of the FBI, after we had identified him as a concealed agent. After his indictment in August, 1957, on espionage charges, information was made public concerning him which the FBI could not previously disclose. In November, 1957, after being convicted in Federal Court, Eastern District of New York, he was sentenced to thirty years in prison and fined 3000 dollars. Subsequently, a notice of appeal was filed.

Ordinarily a network includes a principal (the boss), always a Russian national in a "legal" network. Then there are, depending on the size of the network, group leaders, couriers, sources of information. Non-Russians, such as Harry Gold, may

reach as high as a group leader or may be even a principal, but at all times they are under the firm control of Soviet superiors. In espionage, as in all features of communism, native comrades exist only to serve the Russian master.

Strange as it may sound, it is difficult to become a Russian espionage agent. The Soviets are highly selective. They will not accept just anybody. Does the prospect have access to confidential data? Will he accept discipline? What is his background? The Russians want to know everything about him. Sometimes elaborate verification checks, from Soviet contacts around the world, are run. Moreover, the breaking-in period of a prospect may be very slow. At first he may be given minor assignments to test his flair for intelligence work and discernment of details, all without risk to any established espionage operation. If he "comes through," he'll be given more responsible work.

Why does an individual engage in espionage? Why do native Americans betray their country for a foreign tyranny?

The motives are many, and often intertwined: money, the temporary thrill of secretive work, personal weaknesses, blackmail, feelings of spite against America because of an imagined wrong, a hope to assist relatives in communist countries. Very important, however, is ideological motivation, an attraction to the theory of communism and/or misguided admiration for Soviet rule in Russia.

Let's examine more closely this ideological motivation since it is playing such a major role today. We can distinguish two major categories:

1. *Non-Party ideological motivation*: that is, a feeling for or acceptance of the alleged principles of communism. In prior years many thousands were hoodwinked into believing, because of propaganda, that Russia represented a new "era" in humanity, that anti-Semitism was being abolished, that injustices were being rectified, that the problems of hunger, poverty, and racial discrimination were being solved. Among the reasons Harry Gold, who was never a Party member, gave for entering Russian espionage were:

3. The intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of the United States, possibilities for penetration.
4. International relations of the United States.
5. Weaknesses in American public and private life that can be exploited for intelligence and propaganda purposes.
6. Anti-Soviet political opposition groups, refugees from the Soviet Union and satellite countries, and nationality groups in the United States.

The world of Soviet espionage, like the communist underground, is bleak and dreary. An individual may work for years and know his superior only as "Bill" or "Henry." His rewards: a smile, a promise, or a token award. Harry Gold, who gave a lifetime to the Soviets, was awarded the Order of the Red Star, which, among other things, gave him the privilege of free trolley rides in Moscow. To those hoping to get money, the promise is always big, but results are meager. Here are Gold's own words:

... the difficulty in raising money for ... trips; the weary hours of waiting on street corners in strange towns where I had no business to be and the killing of time in cheap movies; and the lies I had to tell at home and to my friends to explain my supposed whereabouts (Mom was certain that I was carrying on a series of clandestine love affairs). . . . It was drudgery . . . anyone who had an idea this work was glamorous and exciting was very wrong indeed—nothing could have been more dreary.

Life is disciplined to the final detail. The individual is a cog in a vast, inhuman, demanding machine. Klaus Fuchs, for example, while committing espionage in New York, asked permission from the Soviets for his sister in Massachusetts to stay with him. A petty detail but, disciplined agent that he was, he got the necessary approval.

The pressure is terrific, with the Soviet principals always wanting more and more. "If you were in Russia," one Soviet superior barked at a sub-agent who had done something

wrong, "you would suffer the same fate as the traitors in the Moscow trials," referring to the purges of the 1930's. Everything is geared to promote Russian interests. If the agent fails, there are threats of dire consequences.

Espionage's twin partner is sabotage. In 1917 and after, sabotage played an important part in the Bolshevik rise to power. Revolution for the communists is a "science," of which sabotage is an important element. Not to use it, according to communist tactics, is to hinder victory.

The Communist Party, USA, has not reached the point where preparations for sabotage are vital to its future plans. Its small numbers, fear of FBI penetration of its inner discussions, and the existence of federal laws against sabotage and insurrection militate against such plans. So far the communists have carefully refrained from any show of terrorism. Any such act, even random sorties, the communists realize, would cause more harm to the Party by counter prosecutive action than any damage achieved by violence. Moreover, basic communist revolutionary tactics dictate against any such sabotage attempts until the eve of hostilities, which we pray and hope will never come. According to communist teaching, the comrades should not "tip their hands" until the "time is ripe." At a time when the Party was more open and truthful in proclaiming its objectives and tactics, Party organizers were instructed, "To raise the slogan of an armed demonstration without any anticipation of a speedy transformation into an armed revolt, and before the preconditions for a successful revolt exist, is to be guilty of playing with revolution."

Never must we forget, however, that even though acts of sabotage are not now part of the Party's program, they may become so in the future. In fact, the communist underground provides a cover to commit sabotage when it will serve the communist cause.

As part of the Party's underground the communists are pursuing a program called *colonization*, designed to place concealed members in strategic positions in basic industries and defense facilities. Colonization is part of the Party's industrial concentration program, which aims at increasing com-



munist influence in industry and labor. This always has a high Party priority. Basic industry is a commonly used Party term, which one communist manual has defined as those industries "upon which the whole economic system depends." Hence to have a Party member in a steel plant would be more advantageous to the communists than one in a corn-cob-pipe factory. This technique is also often called "A Party Rooted Among the Workers."

In event of an emergency these colonizers, because of their key positions and concealed capacities, would be able to commit sabotage. A trained communist, by a flip of a switch, the pull of a lever, or the release of death-generating germs, could disrupt the work of thousands. One publication described the Party's objective:

In order to overthrow the capitalist system, the working class must control the key positions in the capitalist system. These are not the state and federal capitals, public buildings, or residential neighborhoods, but the heart of the capitalist system—the shops, mines, mills and factories.

Moreover, the location of communist members in key industrial facilities places the Party in a position, if it desires, to promote strikes and slowdowns, which can be used as forms of sabotage. These tactics are vital, in communist thinking, to create "revolutionary situations" preparatory to the seizure of power.

Colonizers do not participate in open Party activities. Often they come from other areas of the country, even giving up their chosen professions. Sometimes a man and wife (a colonizer couple) will be sent into this phase of underground operations. The emphasis is on young people—those in their twenties and thirties. Operating under aliases, they attempt to work their way into more strategic industrial positions. These colonizers represent a deadly communist underground weapon. They are "sleepers" who, upon Party instructions, may one day rise up against our nation.

Another potential danger arises from previous sabotage

training of Party members. Some, as we have seen, attended Moscow's Lenin School. There they learned, among other things, the techniques of guerrilla warfare, how to make sabotage devices and organize civilian resistance. Others served in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. According to William Z. Foster, 15,000 Party members saw duty with American military forces during World War II. The Party realizes that the enrollment of members in the armed forces provides military experience which, in a time of revolutionary crisis, could be utilized to communist advantage—at "capitalist" expense.

All the time, while the Party is attacking free government, both above-ground and underground, it seeks complete license to pursue its schemes. Any opposition by the government is labeled "persecution," "Red baiting," or "thought control."

For this reason communists grasp every opportunity to discredit, weaken, and vilify the institutions enforcing law and order. As long as the American judicial system is strong and realistically recognizes the threat of subversion to our constitutional republic, their efforts will be hampered. They know that.

Listen to these teachings. Are they calculated to instill respect for our democratic heritage?

—The law-enforcement officer: "... a servant of the boss class ... He is your enemy."

—The courts: "... the workers must ... recognize the capitalist court as a class enemy—as a weapon in the bosses' hands. ..."

"The worker must also understand that courts are not impartial. ..."

At all times communists are told to try to make "bourgeois" courts look weak and silly. If members are brought to trial, turn the courtroom into a sounding board for communism. "... the aim should be to turn the trial into an open tribunal for the spreading and propagating of Communist ideas and aims." "The class struggle goes on in the courtroom as well as it does on the picket line, in the shops, and in the mines."

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violence. That is merely one phase of the job to be done in a world-wide struggle.

The FBI knows that the bigger job lies with the free world's intellectuals—the philosophers, the thinkers wherever they may be, the professors and scientists and scholars and students. These people who think, the intellectuals if you please, are the ones who can and must convince men that communism is evil. The world's intellectuals themselves must see that communism is the deadliest enemy that intellectualism and liberalism ever had. They must be as willing to dedicate themselves to this cause as the Communists have been to dedicate themselves to their cause.

*Part VII*

**CONCLUSION**

to the fundamental fact that life has a significance that we ourselves do not create.

It is part of our tradition and belief that each of us is obligated to give, when reality requires it, a reason for the faith that is in him. The presence of communism in the world and in our own country is a kind of stern reality which should make each of us explore our own faith as deeply as we can and then speak up for its relationship to our "American way."

The very essence of our faith in democracy and our fellow man is rooted in a belief in a Supreme Being. To my mind there are six aspects to our democratic faith:

1. A belief in the dignity and worth of the individual, a belief which today is under assault by the communist practice which regards the individual as a part of the "class," the "mass," and a pawn of the state;
2. A belief in mutual responsibility, of our obligation to "feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and care for the less fortunate," which is affronted by communist policies of calculated ruthlessness;
3. A belief that life has a meaning which transcends any manmade system, that is independent of any such system, and that outlasts any such system, a belief diametrically opposed by the materialistic dogma of communism;
4. A belief in stewardship, a feeling that a great heritage is our sacred trust for the generations yet to come, a belief that stands today as the competitor to communist loyalty to Marxism-Leninism;
5. A belief that the moral values we adhere to, support, and strive toward are grounded on a reality more enduring and satisfying than any manmade system, which is opposed by the communist claim that all morality is "class morality";

6. A belief, which has matured to a firm conviction, that in the final analysis love is the greatest force on earth and is far more enduring than hatred; this forbids our accepting the communist division of mankind that by arbitrary standards singles out those fit only for liquidation.

It is only as we thus take stock of what we mean by saying that our culture has religious roots that we become ready to make an accurate appraisal of communist ideology and tactics.

The most basic of all communist comments about religion is the statement of Karl Marx that religion is "the opium of the people." This Marxian doctrine has been restated by William Z. Foster and applied to communist action in these words, "... God will be banished from the laboratories as well as from the schools."

Inherited from fanatic minds abroad, this mentality poses today a crucial problem for every patriotic man and woman in America. If allowed to develop, it will destroy our way of life.

Communists have always made it clear that communism is the mortal enemy of Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and any other religion that believes in a Supreme Being.

Don't think that "the communists have changed their minds about religion," said Nikita Khrushchev. "We remain the Atheists that we have always been; we are doing as much as we can to liberate those people who are still under the spell of this religious opiate." As long as communism remains, the assault will continue.

To the communists Marxism-Leninism is the "perfect science." It accounts for everything; it has a plan for everything; it can be the source of everything man needs. Therefore, said Lenin, "We shall always preach a scientific philosophy; we must fight against the inconsistencies of the 'Christians'..."

In making Marxism-Leninism the "perfect science," the communists characterize religion as a superstitious relic. "Religion, in its thousands of varieties," said William Z. Foster,

"was first evolved by primitive man everywhere as the most logical explanation he could devise of the complex, mysterious and often terrifying natural phenomena with which he was surrounded, as well as to work out a plausible conception of his own and the world's existence."

Though "historically inevitable" for primitive man, Foster goes on to say, religion has now been made obsolete by science. Science, as it advanced, gave "irrefutable materialist explanations" of the phenomena which puzzled primitive man. Hence, "in the modern world . . . there is therefore no longer . . . even the possibility, of a religious interpretation of man and the world." "It has now become virtually impossible for a thoroughly modern person, even if he wants to do so, actually to believe the old legends, primitive philosophies, and imaginary history upon which all religions are founded."

This communist teaching glosses over the fact that science never has given an "irrefutable" explanation of ultimate reality, neither materialistic nor any other kind. The communists ignore the further fact that the faith of religious people is a moral necessity and a sense of personal relationship, not a completion of laboratory science.

In addition to dismissing religion as primitive, the communists claim that it is "a mere instrument of exploitation: another weapon in the hands of the capitalists. As Lenin said: 'Religion is a kind of spiritual intoxicant, in which the slaves of capital drown their humanity, and blunt their desire for a decent human existence.'"

Again: "... it is quite natural for the exploiters to sympathize with a religion that teaches us to bear 'uncomplainingly' the woes of hell on earth, in the hope of an alleged paradise in the skies."

William Z. Foster, who in our country emphasizes the same theme, and who has always emphasized the correct Party line, declared, "... the Church . . . has identified itself with political reaction." And again, "... the Church is one of the basic forces now fighting to preserve obsolete capitalism and its reactionary ruling classes, in the face of advancing democracy and socialism."

The followers of Marx have a way of calling *scientific* any dogma to which they intend to cling, regardless of whether it can be supported by conclusive evidence. And communism has to cling to its antireligious dogma, not for scientific reasons, but for reasons of ideology and strategy. It cannot permit man to give his allegiance to a Supreme Authority higher than Party authority, for such allegiance to a higher authority carries with it a sense of freedom, of immunity to Party edict and discipline. Neither can it afford to have its members made hesitant in acts of cruelty and deception, which are ordained parts of its revolutionary program. No communist can be permitted to set an abstract truth above an expedient lie, or to extend compassion to an enemy whom the Party intends to smear or liquidate. The communists dismiss our sentiments motivated by spiritual force as silly prattlings that reflect "bourgeois weaknesses." Therefore, they have their own morality, communist morality, as stated by Lenin:

We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human, class concepts. . . . We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle. . . .

Lenin made clear the function of communist morality: "At the root of Communist morality, there lies the continuation and completion of Communism." In practice this has simply meant that the end justifies the means. That is why a communist can commit murder, pillage, destruction, and terror, and feel proud; lie and feel no compunction; seek to destroy the American form of government and feel justified. Communism has turned the values of Western civilization upside down.

Hatred of all gods was Karl Marx's credo. Yet communism is, in effect, a secular religion with its own roster of gods, its own Messianic zeal, and its own fanatical devotees who are willing to accept any personal sacrifice that furthers the cause.

It would seem that communists, in view of the above, would make clear, always and at every point, their opposition to religion. Often, however, tactics have made it necessary to play down or to conceal entirely the Party's intentions in line

real nature of communism. For the member, religion is not a private affair. No tolerance is allowed. He cannot be a Marxist and adhere to a religion. The Party is today desperately working to mold atheistic materialism as a weapon of revolution, a revolution which, if it is to succeed, must first sap religion's spiritual strength and then destroy it.

The Party's attack can be traced through four stages:

1. *Recruitment*: keyed to the Party's general approach toward noncommunists, the issue of religion is minimized. "Try to win recruits on the basis of wages and the class struggle rather than religion," and, "Go ahead and tell a fellow you believe in God to keep from getting into an argument." Likewise it is urged, "If we approach a church-goer we do not hit him over the head and tell him his idea is crazy. We take a tactical approach. . . ."

Lenin's advice still holds: "We must not only admit . . . all those workers who still retain faith in God, we must redouble our efforts to recruit them. We are absolutely opposed to the slightest affront to these workers' religious convictions. We recruit them in order to educate them in the spirit of our programme. . . ."

2. *Early indoctrination*: keyed to patience if recruits continue to attend church after joining the Party. They must be gradually "educated." If new members begin to ask questions, they are to be made to feel, not that their fellow communists are trying to take away their belief, but that these communists are "advanced thinkers," that they hold a "scientific" concept of the universe, and that religion is to them simply "old-fashioned." Typical of what members are told are these comments made by communist leaders:

- "How silly to think there is a God."
- "Religion comes from primitive man's worship of such things as thunder, lightning and the sun."
- "Religion was used as an explanation of unanswerable questions, such as 'Why does it rain?' Answer: 'God willed it.'"

3. *Special indoctrination*: keyed to the real job of teaching Marxist materialism are special indoctrination classes. "Our programme thus necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism," said Lenin, directing his words, of course, to Party members.

A few statements from Party members reveal how persistent the communist fight against God:

- "The concept of God is manmade and is based on ignorance."
- "Marxism-Leninism is a science and has solved the mysteries of religion."
- "To be a true communist you have to be an atheist."
- "Communism will supplant religion and will keep you warm and give you all the comforts of healthful living."
- "Religious people fear facts and resort to such things as prayer to end war, but prayers are actually futile and leave war to the capitalists while people sit around praying."

4. *Final goal*: the utter elimination of all religion (called "bourgeois remnants") from the heart, mind, and soul of man, and the total victory of atheistic communism. Religious attitudes keep cropping up, however, even in the trained member. One individual admitted that it had taken him a long time to give up his religion. "It was one of the hardest parts of my Party development."

Even in Soviet Russia, after a generation of the most bitter propaganda, religion is far from exterminated. "One of the most widespread traces of the past in the minds of the people," said one Soviet writer, "is religious superstition and darkness, survivals of the old, antiscientific conceptions of nature, society and of man himself." He adds, "The historic victories of atheism in our country do not mean, however, that religion is over and done with. There are still among us no few believers, i.e., people who continue to remain in the fetters of religion."

To combat these religious "remnants," says this Soviet writer, more antireligious propaganda is needed. ". . . forming an advanced, materialist outlook in the rising generation and

combating every type of superstition and religious belief make up a most important sector in the fight for the communist education of youth." Another Soviet writer states, "Convincing, profoundly reasoned propaganda of atheism which does not offend the feelings of believers is the main characteristic of all antireligious work at the present moment."

Here, then, is the fight the communist leaders wage. We do not believe they can ever win it. These so-called "religious survivals" represent something far deeper in man than the communists can grant: some eternal reaching toward a creative source. But if the Party does not realize the true nature and strength of these "survivals," it does realize that religion is its most potent foe. To meet this challenge no hesitant, indifferent, half-apologetic acts on our own part can suffice. Out of the deep roots of religion flows something warm and good, the affirmation of love and justice; here is the source of strength for our land if we are to remain free. It is ours to defend and to nourish.

24.

### How to Stay Free

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION in Russia is forty years behind us. In these four decades communism has had a chance to show what it does with power in its hands; how it treats the people who live under it; what its attitudes are toward law, education, science, and religion; how it handles its relations with the noncommunist world. It stands condemned on its own record. It has revealed basic errors in theory and practice which will eventually bring about its downfall. To turn around Karl Marx's famous comment on capitalism, communism is,

digging its own grave. It cannot survive because it is anti-God and anti-man.

For all too long, communism's true character has been concealed by its own propaganda, abetted by public ignorance and apathy. Soviet Russia was hailed as an "advanced democracy" and communism as "twentieth-century Americanism." Such phrases deceived free people and gave the Party a protective cloak.

Marxism-Leninism stands revealed not as a "new world" of hope and justice but as an evil conspiracy in pursuit of power. Its cost in human misery and waste of human life is almost beyond description. Every home in America today is deprived of an even higher standard of living as a result of the tax burden brought on by the utter necessity of keeping our defenses strong against the world-wide advance of communism.

Time has also erased the label of "scientific" from Marxist-Leninist ideology. The communist claim of "infallible" has proved to be all too fallible time and again. The revolution began not in a highly industrialized state but in a backward, tyranny-ridden land where communism meant the substitution of an even more vicious brand of tyranny. It was conducted not as a "dictatorship of the proletariat" but as a dictatorship by dictators who rode roughshod over the workingman. Stalin, in the middle 1930's, contended that socialism was at last fully established in Russia and that the movement from then on would be toward the second stage which Marx had foretold: true communism and the withering away of the state. Even as Stalin spoke, in terms designed to attract idealists, he was making the state ever more powerful. After his death, with the "New Look" and the Khrushchev "thaw," the trend has not been reversed.

Khrushchev gives the answer to those who still repeat the shabby, deceitful phrases of communist dogma, when he de-sanctifies Stalin one day and on the next day rehabilitates him as a good communist. After all, Stalin during his life was the Chief Executioner, and Khrushchev did his bidding, along with many of his associates who rule Russia today. Khrush-

chev's answer should never be forgotten, because by his own words the alleged "paradise of human joy" was, in fact, a world of slave labor camps, betrayed human rights, and calculated fear.

The answer also comes from Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese communist dictator who, without apparent shame, admitted that 800,000 of his fellow countrymen had been liquidated between 1949 and the beginning of 1954. The answer further comes from the Hungarian Freedom Fighters of 1956, who with bare hands attacked the steel of Soviet tanks.

The answer finally comes from those Americans who were victimized by the communist deception of claiming credit for reforms and advances which the Party did not deserve. Most informed Americans now know that the communists adopt a cause only to exploit it for their own ends. Communism does not mean better housing, improved social conditions, or a more strict observance of civil rights. The vast majority of Negro leaders have rebuffed the communists' attempts to exploit them. By forcing Party members out of positions of authority and even from union membership, true trade unionists have shown their awareness that communists seek to disrupt the legitimate mission of labor unions.

Communism, in brief, has bitterly indicted communism; communist practice has indicted communist theory; communist actions have indicated the perverted use of such lofty words as "peace," "justice," and "liberty."

But we cannot afford the luxury of waiting for communism to run its course like other oppressive dictatorships. The weapons of communism are still formidable. They become even more effective when we lower our guard and when we become lax in strengthening our democratic institutions in perfecting the American dream.

The call of the future must be a rekindled American faith, based on our priceless heritage of freedom, justice, and the religious spirit.

In our reawakening, we Americans can learn a great deal from the fight against communism. Here are five special areas:

1. The communists emphasize *ideological study*, meaning, of course, Marxism-Leninism. Such study has been the very foundation of their "monolithic unity": their power to keep people in line no matter how the "line" changes. Their study allows no deviation for free thought and independent action. Also, it provides them with a "common language" since all communists give the same meaning to words and acts. This emphasis upon study has been the means whereby they have captured the minds of some of our young people who read and think and who are lacking in proper companionship.

It is sad but true that many young people have been drawn into communist clubs or study groups. Often they are highly intellectual but lonely students and fall under a sinister influence. We know this from the experiences of hundreds of former communists and from acts of near-treason we have been called upon to investigate.

American education, of course, does not make communists; communist education does. Communism, to survive, must depend upon a constant program of education, because communism needs educated people, even though it distorts the use to which their education is put. Thus, we need to show our young people, particularly those endowed with high intellects, that we in our democracy need what they have to offer.

We, as a people, have not been sufficiently articulate and forceful in expressing pride in our traditions and ideals. In our homes and schools we need to learn how to "let freedom ring." In all the civilized world there is no story which compares with America's effort to become free and to incorporate freedom in our institutions. This story, told factually and dramatically, needs to become the basis for our American unity and for our unity with all free peoples. I am sure most Americans believe that our light of freedom is a shining light. As Americans we should stand up, speak of it, and let the world see this light, rather than conceal it. For too long we have had a tendency to keep silent while the communists, their sympathizers, and their fellow travelers have been telling the world what is wrong with democracy. Suppose every American spent a little time each day, less than the time demanded by

the communists, in studying the Bible and the basic documents of American history, government, and culture? The result would be a new America, vigilant, strong, but ever humble in the service of God.

2. Then there is the training of *youth*, on whom the communists place so much emphasis. To the Party, youth is not something auxiliary but an important training ground. We must meet this challenge. America must devote the best of her efforts to make youth responsible, conscious of its obligations, and eager to be good citizens. Experience and observation point to certain facts which we need to consider in providing for youth.

First, youth gravitates toward youth. The young person who feels left out may remain a "solitary." Or he may, according to his background and make-up, join a delinquent gang. He may join a Party front or club. Or he may find some other short cut to a sense of belonging. But every American youth has a right to find some place within a group that expresses rather than contradicts the real values of society.

Second, given half a chance, youth gravitates toward companionship with competent, generous, and experienced adults. Practically all my life I have been face to face with young people becoming involved in difficulties or coming under the communist spell. Invariably I have discovered that they all had one thing in common. In their early years and in the periods of their lives when their transgressions began to take form, they could not talk things over with their parents. Their parents were either too busy, or not interested, or resented any difference of opinion. Or parents simply doled out "final" answers when the young people wanted to try to think things through.

Our youth want not only to talk to adults, they want to work with adults. It is a fine thing for them to have their own groups, but it is better if, in addition, they can participate in shared projects with adults. If the adults can show, in action, that it is possible to combine high idealism with solid

practicality and patience, the results will enhance character and citizenship development manifold.

3. The communists stress *action*. This means carrying out our responsibilities now—not tomorrow, the next day, or never. To communists the Party means continual action, not just talk, waiting for annual elections, meetings, or affairs. With us action must supplement good intentions in building the America of the future. We need to provide our youth with activity groups. To give them only a high standard of material advantages or a constant diet of recreation is not enough. Recreation must be made part of a life of responsibility, otherwise it becomes merely a preface to boredom. Our young people, as well as adults, need to be working members of our republic and citizens on duty at all times.

4. Communists accent the *positive*. In their deceptive and perverted way they are always purporting to stand for something positive. "Better," "higher," etc., are trade-marks in their language. We, too, in the true sense of the word, should strive for goals that are genuinely better, higher, and more noble, trying to improve self, community, and nation. A strictly negative attitude or the philosophy of just staying afloat—all too common today—will never meet the impact of the communist challenge.

5. Most important of all is *faith*. Let us not blind ourselves to the fact that communists do have a "faith." True, it is falsely placed, but still it inspires them to sacrifice, devotion, and a perverted idealism.

The late Mother Bloor, the Party's woman "hero," often praised Walt Whitman's "The Mystic Trumpeter" as the poem she loved best. It seemed, she said, to prophesy the coming of a "new world":

War, sorrow, suffering gone—the rank  
earth purged—nothing but joy left!



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The ocean fill'd with joy—the atmosphere  
all joy!  
Joy! joy! in freedom, worship, love! joy in  
the ecstasy of life!  
Enough to merely be enough to breathe!  
Joy! joy! all over joy!

She is trying to identify communism with the dream of a world of joy. She is exploiting Walt Whitman. Yet her feeling shows the lure of communist "faith." If communists can be so inspired from error, falsehood, and hate, just think what we could do with truth, justice, and love! I thrill to think of the even greater wonders America could fashion from its rich, glorious, and deep tradition. All we need is faith, real faith.

The communist prides himself on being a revolutionary—and revolutionary he is in the sense of destruction, terror, and violence. Free man can learn here too: the truly revolutionary force of history is not material power but the spirit of religion. The world today needs a true revolution of the fruitful spirit, not the futile sword. Hypocrisy, dishonesty, hatred, all these must be destroyed and man must rule by love, charity, and mercy.

The Party's effort to create "communist man," to mold a revolutionary fighter completely subservient to the Party's desires, is destined to fail. The power of bullets, tanks, and repression will bulwark tyranny just so long. Then, as the Hungarian Freedom Fighters proved, man's innate desire for freedom will flare up stronger than ever. In communism we see what happens when freedom is extinguished. This must give us renewed zeal to work untiringly to uphold the ideals of justice and liberty which have made this nation great.

With God's help, America will remain a land where people still know how to be free and brave."

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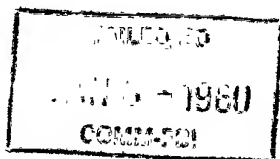
Mrs. [REDACTED]  
5085 Casa Drive  
Tarzana, California

b6  
b7C

Dear Mrs. [REDACTED]

Your thoughtful letter of December 29, 1959,  
has been received, and I deeply appreciate your very generous  
comments. It was a pleasure for me to autograph a copy of  
"Masters of Deceit" to you, and I hope that you will enjoy  
reading it.

Sincerely yours,



b6  
b7C

NOTE: Bufiles contain no derogatory information concerning Mrs.

[REDACTED] She was furnished an autographed copy of "Masters of  
Deceit" at the request of Philip F. Jehle, Washington representative  
of the National Association of Retail Druggists. We have enjoyed very  
cordial relations with Mr. Jehle and prepared an article for publication  
in the magazine of his association.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_

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JAN 15 1960 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

Dec 29- '59

J. Edgar Hoover  
Washington DC.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I should like you to know that I appreciate and thank you very much for the book "Masters of Deceit" and for the autograph. By you..

It is the busiest men, men who do really big things, who do the kind things for the littler people, who do the most big things and the most little things as well.

I presume it is your awareness of how much your kindnesses mean to folks that makes you give so much of yourself.

Thanks again for the book. I shall read it.

Sincerely

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

b6  
b7c

()Philip Jahle's friend.

P.S. Robins have been here a month.

p.p.s. Wild Canaries have a nest in the bush under my widdow. The babies have feathered and are so pretty.

F. M. D.

5085-Casa Dr.  
Tarzana Cal.

*Handwritten:* 10

*Handwritten:* J. RM

2.  
do the most big things  
and the most little things  
as well.

I presume it is your  
awareness of how much  
your kindnesses mean  
to folks that makes you  
give so much of your-  
self.

Thanks again for  
the book. I shall read  
it.

b6  
b7C

Sincerely



(Philip Jakob's friend,  
P. S. Robins have been here

Dec. 29 - 59

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

J. Edgar Hoover  
Washington DC.

Dear Mr. Hoover!

I should like to know that I appreciate  
 and thank you very much  
 for the book "Masters of  
 Deceit" and for the  
 autograph. By you...  
 It is the busiest  
 men, men who do really  
 big things, who do the  
 kind things for the  
 little people, who...

REC-48

62-104277-1398

DEC 31 1959

JAN 4 1960

NOT RECORDED

9.12

a month.

p.p.s. Wild Canaries have  
nest in the bush under  
my window. The babies  
have feathered and are  
so pretty. J.M.D.

5085- Casa De,  
Tanzania Cal.

4  
111  
January 5, 1960

REC-50

62-100-77-1399  
Major General Wiley D. Ganey  
Commander  
Chanute Technical Training Center (ATC)  
United States Air Force  
Chanute Air Force Base, Illinois

Dear General Ganey:

Thank you very much for your cordial letter of December 23, 1959. It was a pleasure to autograph a copy of "Masters of Deceit" for you, and I appreciate your generous comments concerning the book. It is most encouraging to know that you have recommended it to your commanders, staff officers and friends.

Thank you also for your kind Christmas and New Year's wishes, and I hope you enjoy a prosperous and successful 1960.

Sincerely yours,

JAN 5 3 25 PM '60  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: Bufiles reflect General Ganey is a friend of SAC Robert D. Gibbons of our Springfield Office.

WLD:cfm

(3)

62 JAN 10 1960  
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐





HEADQUARTERS  
CHANUTE TECHNICAL TRAINING CENTER (ATC)  
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE  
Office of the Commander  
CHANUTE AIR FORCE BASE, ILLINOIS

23 December 1959

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have just recently been presented with an  
autographed copy of your book "Masters of Deceit".

Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness.  
You are to be congratulated for a masterly presenta-  
tion of the communist conspiracy. I have recommended  
to my commanders, staff officers and friends that they  
include "Masters of Deceit" as a must on their reading  
list.

Your remarkable book should be read by  
every loyal American.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a  
Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

*Wiley D. Ganey*

WILEY D. GANEY  
Major General, USAF  
Commander

ack  
1/5/60  
WLD

Fuller  
MA  
EX-100  
DEC 28 1959

140

REC- 50

62-104277-1399

EX-117

NOV 12 1960

~~PEES, FILES~~

DECODED COPY

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Airgram

☒ Cablegram

DEFERRED

1-4-60

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT, MEXICO CITY

NO. 553

"MAESTROS DEL ENGANO", ERNESTO SANCHES DE SALAZAR, AVENIDA MORELOS  
 NUMBER 45, MEXICO 1, DF. REBUCAB DECEMBER 29 LAST. POSSIBILITY OF  
 BOOKS BEING PUBLISHED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE AND MADE AVAILABLE TO  
 CARDINAL CUSHING DISCUSSED WITH [REDACTED]

b6  
 b7c

[REDACTED] UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE THIS  
 EMBASSY DECEMBER 31 LAST AND HE STATED MATTER WOULD BE TAKEN UP  
 WITH HIS WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS AT ONCE. UACB WILL FOLLOW MATTER  
 CLOSELY WITH EDWARDS AND WILL NOT CONTACT SANCHES DE SALAZAR FOR  
 TIME BEING.

Unless advised to contrav.  
 by Bureau

JOHN N. SPEAKES

RECEIVED

1-4-60

4:48 PM

MLL

REC- 58

62-104277-1400

JAN 12 1960

57 JAN 10 1960

JAN 11 1960

REC- 58

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
ATTN: CRIME RECORDS DIV.

DATE: 12/31/59

FROM : SAC, EL PASO

SUBJECT: MASTERS OF DECEIT  
SPANISH LANGUAGE EDITION

JAN 5 1960

ASAC JACK C. SPENCER and I have been discussing the Spanish language edition of the book and speculating that the Bureau might wish to consider whether a dramatized Spanish version might have some radio and TV possibilities in Latin American countries. If the Bureau has considered and discarded this idea, there is no need to read any further.

I feel that a radio or TV series might meet with some demand in Mexico. I do not think in terms of something like "I Led Three Lives" but a much more conservative approach to the problem of anti-Communism. For example, the real situation in Mexico was that [redacted] and [redacted] a couple of subversives infiltrated and eventually took over the Mexican Railway workers. It got so bad the Mexican government intervened, broke the strike and imprisoned [redacted] and a few other Marxists. The government also made some assertions (for which convincing proof was not forthcoming) that representatives in the Soviet Embassy in Mexico were masterminding the Mexican Marxists in their handling of labor in the Railways. Mexican government declared a couple of Soviet Embassy personnel persona non grata in Mexico charging them with this.

b6  
b7c

A fictionalized, toned-down version of this could readily be used to show how Communists control the labor movement. As one got into it, a quarter's programs would promptly suggest themselves.

Based upon my observations of persons in Juarez and around El Paso, I think a Mexican, non-official, institutional type sponsor could be found for such a program along the border.

EX-124

REC-27

62-104277-14101

Bureau, if at all interested, would probably want to get a reading from Legat, Mexico. If the idea has any merit and El Paso can be of any help, please advise.

- (2) - Bureau
- 1 - El Paso

FEC:sac

(3)

62 JAN 15 1960

January 13, 1960

Miss [redacted]  
1202 North Ogden Drive  
Hollywood 46, California

b6  
b7C

Dear Miss [redacted]

Your letter of January 4, 1960, about my book, "Masters of Deceit," and the communist problem in the United States, has been received, and I appreciate the interest that prompted you to write.

The concern you have shown with this menace that afflicts our Nation is noteworthy. Accordingly, I am enclosing some material on this subject that might be of use to you.

In answer to your question about the author of the book, "The Naked Communist," I thought you might like to know that Mr. W. Cleon Skousen was formerly a Special Agent of this Bureau from 1940 to 1951. His services during his employment were entirely satisfactory. Regarding your request for an opinion of his book, it has been my policy to refrain from making comments of this nature due to my position as head of a Federal agency. May I say, however, that all efforts to alert the American public to the scourge of communism are praiseworthy.

Sincerely yours,

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Room \_\_\_\_\_  
y \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosures (4)

The Communist Are After Our Minds; Breaking the Communist Spell; How to Beat Communism; Communist Illusion and Democratic Reality.

NOTE: See next page.

NHC:ncr/hmm (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JAN 13 2 40 PM '60  
READING ROOM

NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing identifiable with correspondent. Willard Cleon Skousen is a former Agent who EOD 6-17-40 and resigned 10-15-51, services satisfactory. We have had cordial relations with him in his capacity as Chief of Police at Salt Lake City, Utah. His book, "The Naked Communist" is well-written, enhanced by a group of pictures and a map of the communist empire. (67-60602-245)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

1202 North Ogden Drive  
Hollywood 46, California  
January 4, 1960

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Recently I have finished reading your very interesting and informative book Masters of Deceit. It gave a clear picture of the Communist movement in the United States and what is and can be done about it. Since then I have become very interested in finding out more of what can be done and what has been done in controlling Communist infiltration in the United States since the publication of this book.

Could you please send me some further information on these subjects and also if possible some statistics proving or disproving the fact that Communism is on the increase in the United States. I would also like to know more about why a known Communist in the United States cannot be arrested unless he is caught in the act of overthrowing the government. It seems to me that if a person outwardly admits that he is a Communist and is openly against the United States something should be done. Another thing that bothers me is how the United States can allow Communist papers to be sold at newsstands, surely this is just as dangerous as the immoral literature which has come into public attention recently. Some people buy these papers just to see what they have to say and soon are so confused that they get pulled down deeper and deeper until they no longer know what is right or wrong.

A book entitled The Naked Communist written by W. Cleon Skousen has been brought to my attention; I would like to know your ~~opion~~ opinion of this book and its author.

Very sincerely yours,

[Redacted Signature Box]

b6  
b7c

*8/24/60*

EX-101

REC-19

62-104277-1402

4 JAN 15 1960

ack 1-13-60  
NHC

*[Handwritten signature]*  
COMM-FBI

JAN 6 1960

UNITED STATES

## Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. F. A. Frohbose

DATE: January 13, 1960

FROM : Mr. W. F. Estill

SUBJECT: REQUEST THAT COPY OF  
MASTERS OF DECEIT BE  
AUTOGRAPHED BY DIRECTOR  
TO DOCTOR WILLIAM DWIGHT CURTIS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Doctor William Dwight Curtis is a prominent orthodontist in Washington, D.C. Among his regular patients are included both children of Vice President Nixon. Doctor Curtis has, in conversation with the writer, expressed great admiration of the Director. He is deeply appreciative of the Director's untiring struggle against communist forces within and without our country.

Attached is a copy of "Masters of Deceit," which the writer has purchased with the idea of presenting it to Doctor Curtis. The writer is confident that Doctor Curtis would treasure this book even greater if the Director autographed it to him; and in view of Doctor Curtis's close contact with many prominent families in the Washington area, it is believed that it might be advantageous to the Bureau if this were done.

Bufiles contain nothing identifiable.

RECOMMENDATION: That this be forwarded to Crime Records Division for appropriate consideration.

Enclosure

WFE:bas  
 (5)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Estill
- 1 - Liaison

62-104277-1403  
 REC-69 11 JAN 18 1960

33  
 50 JAN 25 1960

REC-69  
 1/13/60  
 CRIME RECORDS  
 FILES



January 18, 1960

REGISTERED

Mr. [REDACTED]  
Box 185  
Upton, Wyoming

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Your letter dated January 8, 1960, with enclosure, has been received.

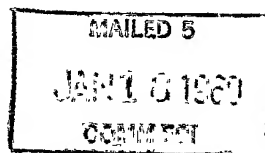
Although I would like to be of service, the FBI does not have copies of my book, "Masters of Deceit," which we can send you.

For your information, Pocket Books, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, New York, has published paper-bound copies of it which retail for fifty cents. If you are unable to secure a copy from your local bookstores, it can be purchased from the Mail Service Department of Pocket Books, Inc., for that price, plus five cents for mailing costs. The money you forwarded is being returned.

Sincerely yours,

715800

Enclosure



NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

DCL:mm  
(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

19.1.18  
JAN 18 1960  
FBI  
REC'D W77  
JAN 18 1960

TRUE COPY

Upton Wyoming  
Jan - 8 - 1960

A Dept of Justice  
Washington DC

Dear Sir. ,

Enclosed 50 cents please mail to me the Booklet called  
J. Edgar, Hoovers Master of Deceit Thanking you for  
your kind attention

I remain

Yours truly

/s/

[Redacted Signature]

b6  
b7C

Box 185  
Upton  
Wyoming

*8711025*  
*[Signature]*

*72ml*  
*ack 1/15/60*  
*ReL/mm*  
*1/15/60*  
*mm*

Wynne  
Jan - 8 - 1960

A Dept of Justice  
Washington DC  
Dear Sir,

Enclosed 50 copies please mail  
to 7720 the booklet called  
J. Edgar Hoover Masters of Deceit  
Thanking you for your kind  
attention

Yours Truly



b6  
b7C

① Masters of Deceit

Box 185

Wynne

Wynne

62-104272-1404

nm  
ack 1/15/60  
RC/mm  
l/c 1/15/60  
mm

EX 101

REC-75

24 JAN 19 1960

ENCLOSURE  
Returned  
RC 1/15/60

REC-75  
262

REC-92

62-1465-1465

January 15, 1960

Mrs. [REDACTED]  
1220 Bennett Avenue  
Glenwood Springs, Colorado

b6  
b7C

Dear Mrs. [REDACTED]

Your letter dated January 6, 1960, has been received, and I am very pleased to learn of your interest in my book, "Masters of Deceit."

I am enclosing some material which may be of possible interest. You may desire to correspond with the Director of Women's Activities, Public Relations Department, The Quaker Oats Company, Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago 54, Illinois, who has prepared a program based on my book. This program was designed for the use of civic groups, and it may be that copies are still available.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosures (2)

Editorial on "Masters of Deceit" from 3-9-58 "Commercial Appeal,"  
Memphis, Tennessee  
Page nine from 3-31-58 "Business Digest" magazine

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Miss Metz of the Quaker Oats Company advised the Bureau in January, 1959, of her program and stated that her company made it available cost free to organizations across the Nation. In September, 1958, Henry Holt and Company furnished us a copy of the script by Miss Metz. The Bureau reviewed the script and found it most satisfactory.

SAW:ld (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1220 Bennett Avenue  
Glenwood Springs, Colorado  
January 6, 1960

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Office of F. B. I.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have debated writing this letter as I know full well how busy you are. However, as this matter is of extreme importance to everyone, it should be handled as expertly as possible.

A club to which I belong has scheduled me to give a review the latter part of next month on your book, MASTERS OF DECEIT.

I have read the book several times and about a year ago heard it reviewed by a woman in Denver. Perhaps my writing you has been prompted by the confusing effect this person's review had on the audience. I am anxious to give a clear, pertinent and inclusive review in the hour allotted me.

The reports from Library Journal, February 15, 1958; Saturday Review, March 8, 1958; American Library Association Booklist, April 15, 1958; blurb; New York Times; Nation; and Time magazine have not given me the basis I feel I want so I am turning to headquarters for help.

EX 100

REC- 92

62-104277-1405

I shall appreciate it if you can find time to send me an outline or if possible a review you deem worthy of the book -- one which I may use in an hour talk on your outstanding book.

JAN 19 1960

CRIME REC.

1-15-60  
1-17-60


I am extremely anxious to put your much needed message across  
one hundred per cent.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Yours sincerely,



b6  
b7C

Mrs.   
1220 Bennett Avenue  
Glenwood Springs, Colorado

62-104277-1406

January 19, 1960

Mr. [REDACTED]  
180 First Street  
Perth Amboy, New Jersey

b6  
b7C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

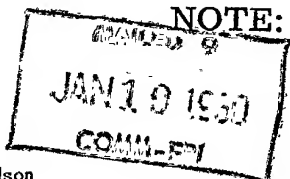
Your letter dated January 11, 1960, has been received, and I am glad to learn that you enjoyed reading my book, *Masters of Deceit*. Your kind comments and best wishes are indeed appreciated, and I am enclosing some material concerning this Bureau which you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosures (3)  
The Story of the FBI  
Fingerprint Identification  
The FBI Lab

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.



SAW:ncr  
(3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

52 JAN 24 1960 MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

I, II, 60

Dear Sir ,

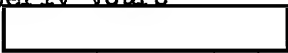
Haveing just read your book. The masters of Deceit.

This book realy woke me up to a lot of things .I did not know .

God bless you and your Staff .For the fine work you are doing .

My friends are buying the book now , Thanks to you.

Sincerly yours

  
180 First St.  
Perth Amboy N.J.

b6  
b7C

A

REC-3 62-104277-1406

EX 105

11 JAN 20 1960

mm  
sub 1-19-60  
SPW

CRIME REC  
1



Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. DeLoach ✓  
 Mr. McGuire ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Trotter ✓  
 Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

Washington, D. C.  
 December 18, 1959

Mr. John Edgar Hoover  
 Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On the evening of December 17, 1959  
 Mr. [redacted]  
 [redacted] who is a confidential source of the  
 Washington Field Office, mentioned to a Special  
 Agent of this office that Mr. [redacted]  
 [redacted]  
 [redacted] had received an autographed copy of  
 "Masters of Deceit" as a gift from you. This  
 copy was in the Chinese language.

Mr. [redacted] commented that he had briefly  
 looked over the book and he stated that it was  
 a particularly fine translation. He commented  
 that the title, as translated, was not only a  
 literal translation from the English but also  
 a Chinese idiomatic expression. He added that  
 the Chinese edition was being circulated in  
 Hong Kong and that he felt that the book would  
 receive a wide circulation there and could do  
 a great deal of good in exposing communist  
 tactics.

Mr. [redacted] I thought you would be interested in  
 comments.

Sincerely,

James H. Gale  
 James H. Gale  
 Special Agent in Charge

JAN 20 1960

52 JAN 25 1960

62-104277-1408

January 11, 1960

Mr. [REDACTED]  
15050 Northeast Ninth Avenue  
Miami 61, Florida

b6  
b7c

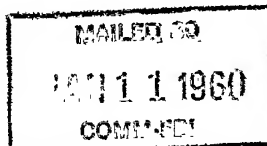
Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Your letter dated January 4, 1960, has been received, and I want to thank you sincerely for your thoughtful message.

I am also pleased that you have found my book, "Masters of Deceit," of interest, and in this connection, you probably would like to know that Pocket Books, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, New York, has published paper-bound copies of it. If you are unable to secure copies in your local bookstores, they can be purchased from the Mail Service Department of Pocket Books, Inc. The retail price is fifty cents, plus five cents per book for mailing costs.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



JAN 11 4 30 PM '60  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JAN 26 1960

DCL:jcs/td

(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D MAIL ROOM  
JAN 11 1960

TRUE COPY

15050 N. E. 9th Ave  
Miami 61, Florida  
January 4, 1960

J. E. Hoover  
F. B. I.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have read your book "Masters of Deceit" Congratulations and Thank you - I am a better American. I am interested in having everyone of my with a copy of your book. I would like to give them all a copy but not being a wealthy person I cannot afford \$5.00 a throw.

Have you considered an inexpensive, paperbound pocket book edition to give away to friends. Like fighting fire with fire.

Thank you again.

/s/



b6  
b7C

15050 N. E. 9th Ave.  
Miami 61, Florida.

*Handwritten:* 2-11-60  
JEL

*Handwritten:* 1 true copy  
1-11-60 TEL

*Handwritten:* 8 mcs  
JEL

15050 N. E. 9<sup>th</sup> Ave  
Miami 61, Florida  
January 4, 1960

J. E. Hoover  
F. B. I.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I have read your book "Masters of Deceit"  
Congratulations and Thank You. I am a better American  
I am interested in having everyone of my  
with a copy of your book. I would like to give  
them all a copy but not being a wealthy  
person I cannot afford \$5.00 a throw. ~~for~~

Have you considered an inexpensive paperback  
pocket book edition to give away to friend

Like fighting fire with fire - 1/4/68

Thank You Again.

23 JAN 21 1960

b6  
b7C

15050 N.E. 9<sup>th</sup> Ave.  
MIAMI 61, FLORIDA.

nml  
ark 1-8-60  
Dec

1-11-60  
8710  
JAN 11 1960

**DECODED COPY**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

☐ **Airgram**
☒ **Cablegram**

URGENT 1-15-60

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT MEXICO CITY NO. 568

QUOTE MAESTROS DEL ENGANO UNQUOTE, ERNESTO SANCHES DE SALAZAR, b6  
 AVENIDA MORELOS NUMBER 15, MEXICO 1, DF. REMYCAB JANUARY 4 b7C  
 LAST. [REDACTED] OF EMBASSY FOR POLITICAL  
 AFFAIRS AND SENIOR OFFICER OF UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE  
 THIS EMBASSY HAS ADVISED ME HIS WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS HAS  
 INFORMED HIM GOVERNMENT FUNDS NOT AVAILABLE FOR HANDLING MATTER  
 OF BOOKS DESIRED BY CARDINAL CUSHING. ACCORDINGLY I WILL CONTACT  
 ERNESTO SANCHES DE SALAZAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS  
 IN BUCAB OF DECEMBER 29 LAST AND BULET OF DECEMBER 25 LAST.

JOHN N. SPEAKES

RECEIVED: 1-15-60

6:34 PM

CTF

REC-96

62-104277-1409

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

26335

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 1/15/60

FROM : SAC, Norfolk (80-89)

SUBJECT: "MASTERS OF DECEIT"

Attention: Crime Records Section

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b7D

As the Bureau knows, Mr. [redacted] Ford Motor Company, Norfolk, is an SAC Contact. During my conversation with him 1/14/60, he was most complimentary concerning the Director, the Bureau, and the Norfolk Office. He was particularly pleased over receiving a Christmas card from the Director.

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I desire to furnish to Mr. [redacted] a copy of the Director's book, "Masters of Deceit". It would be appreciated if the Director would personally autograph the book to Mr. [redacted]

Enclosed is a check for \$2.95 in payment for this book. It is requested that the book be forwarded to me at the Norfolk Office, in order that I may present it to Mr. [redacted]

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b7D

2-Bureau (Encl.-1)  
1-Norfolk  
MWJ:JG  
(3)

noted  
JFE  
1/23/60

REC-48

JAN 22 1960

CRIME REC.  
mm

67 JAN 28 1960